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SAINT DOMINIC

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SAINT DOMINIC

BY
JEAN GUIRAUD

TRANSLATED BY
KATHARINE DE MATTOS



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THE LIFE OF SAINT DOMINIC

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF ST DOMINIC

1170—1203

IN beginning this Life of St Dominic it is impossible to ignore the difficulties presented by the undertaking. The founder of a religious order playing a great part in history, the saint has been the object of the extravagance of praise and of criticism alike. His admirers and disciples have not been content with the information, sometimes vague or scanty, furnished by thirteenth century writers and in particular by his successor, Jordan of Saxony, and ever since the end of the fourteenth century legend has mingled with history. By Alain de la Roche it was profusely scattered throughout the pages of his biography, his zeal—as pious as ill-advised—only serving to render the life of his hero additionally obscure; Jean de Réchac, in the seventeenth century, in a biography overflowing with the marvellous and marked by an entire absence of criticism, followed in his steps; while on the other hand the enemies of the faith have too often seen in St Dominic the founder of the Inquisition alone, his figure appearing to them in the sinister light of the faggots.

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Thus Llorente displays him at Lagrasse, near Carcassonne, celebrating Mass upon a flattened hillock, "while at the four corners of the platform stakes had been erected and flames were devouring the victims."¹

The historian should beware of exaggerations of this kind. Without denying the marvellous or the miraculous, it is his duty to weigh evidence, and even though it should be necessary to set aside poetic and attractive legends, to accept that only which appears to him authentic. Nor will he look upon the subject of his history in the light of a client whom he is bound to justify in every particular, even at the cost of truth. The saints themselves may have been mistaken, and to however great a degree divine grace may have abounded in them, it was no infallible preservative from all error or from every fault. Had St Dominic committed acts of cruelty we should feel no difficulty in acknowledging the fact; but, placing the saint in his own age and environment, and taking above all the character of his opponents into consideration, he appears to have been a defender, wise and temperate, not only of faith and morals, but also of civilisation, threatened as it was by the subversive doctrines of the Albigenses.

St Dominic was born at Calaroga in the kingdom of Léon, about the year 1170. His native country had gallantly regained her liberty from the Arabs after a prolonged crusade lasting over several centuries, and not far distant from the town which

¹ *History of the Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 67.

was his birth-place was to be seen the tomb of the Cid, the terror of the Moors. Monastic institutions had flourished around Calaroga; within less than four leagues, in the midst of the mountains, stood the ancient Benedictine monastery of Silos, reformed by the Abbot Dominic.¹ At La Vigne the Premonstratensians had just founded a flourishing convent. Finally, at Uclès there was a house belonging to one of the great military orders of Spain, St James of the Sword.

The parents of the saint, Felix de Guzman and Joanna d'Aza, belonged to the nobility of the country. The scrupulous criticism of the Bollandists has thrown some doubt upon this fact; and it must be admitted that the exaggerations of certain writers deserved to awaken it, Lopez Agurlita making St Dominic cousin of Blanche of Castille and of St Ferdinand; although in none of the numerous acts issued in favour of the Friars Preachers do either St Louis or his brother Alfonso of Poitiers claim so saintly a connection, nor does Jordan of Saxony, disciple and successor of the saint, anywhere ascribe to him such an illustrious origin.²

¹ St Dominic of Silos had become abbot of this monastery about the year 1040, and had set to work at once to reform it. Cf. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis St Benedicti*, vol. iv. p. 407.

² “. . . The ancient Bollandists have called in question the ‘*haute noblesse*’ attributed to the parents of St Dominic. At the present day, distrust is, more than ever, felt of genealogies drawn up in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries; they were too often the work of unscrupulous vanity.” *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xii. p. 322.

It seems, nevertheless, to be proved that, whether on the side of the Guzmans or on that of the Azas, the saint was descended from a line of noble knights, who had fought during several centuries for Spain and for the Christian faith. His parents were pious. His mother, honoured as a saint ever since the thirteenth century, was beatified by Leo XII. in 1828. He had two elder brothers who, like himself, dedicated themselves to God: Anthony, after solid study, becoming canon of St James, and vowing himself in that capacity to the service of the poor and of the sick; while Manés also followed the University course, but in 1217 made his profession in the hands of his brother, and having become Friar Preacher, helped to spread the infant order in Castille. He was beatified by Gregory XVI.

The birth of St Dominic was attended by marvels. While his mother was awaiting her delivery, she had a strange vision. "She imagined," says Jordan of Saxony, "that she bore in her womb a dog, and that it escaped from her, a burning torch in its mouth, with which it set fire to the world." "The day of his baptism," relates Thierry of Apolda, "the godmother of the saint had a vision in which the blessed child appeared to her, marked on the forehead with a radiant star, of which the splendour illuminated the entire earth"¹—forcible and gracious symbols of the effect which was to be produced by the burning zeal of St Dominic and his spiritual sons.

¹ Quétif & Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, vol. i. p. 2. Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, 4th August.

Joanna d'Aza brought up her son herself for the first seven years of his life ; but when his education was to begin she recognised the necessity of a separation. Her brother was arch-priest of Gumiel d'Izan, not far distant from Calaroga, and to him she intrusted Dominic, who remained under his care for seven years. No details of his studies remain ; they were doubtless identical with those of all children of good family—classical Latin, the Latin of the Fathers of the Church, with exercises in rhetoric serving in all probability as their foundation.

When the young pupil had attained the age of fourteen the arch-priest was compelled to find a more learned teacher for him and St Dominic was sent to Palencia (1184). This was one of the most important towns of the kingdom of Leon. Though its university was not definitely founded by Alfonso IX. till the year 1209, it already possessed those schools which in the Middle Ages grew up under the shadow of the abbeys or episcopal palaces.¹ We know that St Dominic passed ten years there, of which the first six were dedicated to the liberal arts, by which were understood the exercises of the trivium and of the quadrivium, preparatory to the mastership of arts—that is, grammar, poetry and logic ; arithmetic, algebra, music and astronomy.

¹ The schools of Palencia were very ancient ; it is said that they went back to the times of the Goths. Lucas de Tuy, deacon of Leon, who wrote his chronicle about 1239, says that there had been always schools in Palencia, *semper ibi viguit scholastica sapientia*. Cf. Denifle, *Les Universités au Moyen Age*, vol. i, p. 472.

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After this double cycle of general studies, he was in a position to select the special science which he desired to cultivate. This was theology, and to it he devoted four years, from 1191 to 1194.

He gave himself up to it with ardour, so his biographers say, making mention of his long vigils and above all of the books covered with notes, which he was forced to sell in order to supply himself with money for charity—"vendidit libros suos manu sua glossatos."¹

Mixing as a student with the young men, sometimes noisy and dissipated, belonging to the schools, St Dominic never lost the seriousness and purity which had distinguished him from childhood. Already conspicuous for the refinement of his habits and the discretion of his character, "his conduct had nothing of the young man about it, and beneath a youthful exterior was hidden the wisdom of age." For from that time forth he was acquainted with all that is stern and exalted in the spiritual life. Giving himself up to those austerities practised by him to the end, he abstained for more than two years from wine,² and most often, after long vigils devoted to study or penance, slept on the bare ground.

At the same time he was lavish in his charities,

¹ Evidence of Brother Stephen at the Process of Canonisation. Cf. Bollandists, *A.S.*, 4th August, p. 389.

² This fact is related by most of his biographers, particularly by Eudes de Châteauroux in one of his sermons: "veniens Palenciam, ubi tunc florebat studium, a vino abstinuit per illas quatuor annos, quibus studuit et etiam per sex ui alios sequenter." Cf. Denifle, *op. cit.* p. 473.

bestowing upon the poor, together with spiritual consolation, all that he saved from his personal needs. His biographers give many instances of his self-sacrifice. During his theological studies, the town, together with the whole of Spain, underwent a season of famine, that scourge of the Middle Ages of which the ravages are well known. Many of the poor were dying of hunger and neglect. Dominic could not endure the spectacle, and he sold all he possessed, even to his books and his notes. His example was followed by several of his comrades, and the prevailing misery was alleviated by the alms of students and teachers, stirred by the example of the saint. The forerunner of St Vincent de Paul, he attempted several times to sell himself for his neighbour, endeavouring in the first instance to substitute himself for a prisoner whose sister was anxiously endeavouring to free him from the Moors, and attempting later on to liberate after the same fashion certain women who were kept by poverty in the power of heretics. One biographer—his contemporary, Bartholomew of Trent—says he several times renewed his heroic endeavours.

It is impossible to discover the precise date at which St Dominic received Holy Orders; for with regard to the earlier portion of his life the details preserved by historians are scanty and brief. Certain biographers have attempted to supplement these uncertainties by means of suppositions. Joseph Stephen of Noriega, a Premonstratensian writer of the last century, was anxious to prove that the saint, while still a student at Palencia, had taken the

habit of St Norbert at Our Lady of La Vigne,¹ retaining it till the year 1203; but however able his arguments may be, they are not convincing, since in this same year Dominic was already prior of the Osma chapter, signing in that capacity a diploma of 1203; besides which, the Prior Provincial of the Dominicans of Lombardy, Brother Stephen, giving evidence during the process of canonisation, declared that while a student of theology at Palencia—that is, before the year 1194—his master was already canon of Osma.

With the view of facilitating the course of study to certain chosen clerks, the Church was in the habit of conferring canonries upon them, accompanied by dispensations from the duty of residence, the revenues of the stall serving to maintain the student. Such was doubtless the case with St Dominic, since while living at Palencia he already belonged to the Osma chapter. His studies terminated, he proceeded, in 1194, to take possession of his stall and to fulfil its functions. “At once,” says Jordan of Saxony, “he began to appear among his brother canons as a burning torch, the first in sanctity, the lowest of all in humility, shedding around him an odour of quickening life, a perfume like incense on a summer’s day. . . . Like an olive tree which throws out branches, like a growing cypress, he remained day and night in the

¹ He dwells upon the relations existing between the Premonstratensians of Our Lady of La Vigne, and St Dominic’s first master, his uncle, arch-priest of Gumiel. It is, however, certain that the saint was well acquainted with the Order of St Norbert, since, as will be seen in the sequel, he frequently borrowed from it in the constitutions of the Friars Preachers.

church, devoted ceaselessly to prayer, and scarcely showing himself beyond the cloister, lest he should lose leisure for contemplation. God had given him grace to weep for sinners, for the unhappy, and for the afflicted: and this sorrowful love, oppressing his heart, found outward vent in tears. It was his custom, rarely broken, to pass the night in prayer and, with shut doors, to give himself up to communion with God; and there were then sometimes heard voices and sounds as if groans, which he was unable to restrain, were breaking from him. One special demand he constantly addressed to God—that there might be bestowed upon him a true charity, a love which should count nothing too dear for the salvation of men. . . . He was accustomed to read a book named *The Conferences of the Fathers*, treating alike of vice and of spiritual perfection; and in reading it he learnt to know and to follow out all the pathways of virtue. This book, assisted by grace, raised him to a nice purity of conscience, to abundant illumination in contemplation, and to an eminent degree of perfection.”¹

The virtue and the zeal of the young canon corresponded admirably with the projects of the Bishop of Osma, Martin de Bazan, and of his friend, Didacus d’Azevédo.

In spite of the reforms which had been carried out by Gregory VII., the cathedral chapters were lending themselves to laxity. Taking their names

¹ Jordan of Saxony. Quétif and Echard, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 4. In this quotation, as in many which will follow, we borrow the translation of Lacordaire (*Vie de S. Dominique*).

from seignorial fiefs, and rebels against episcopal authority, some of the canons were temporal princes rather than members of a religious order; and heretics, already so numerous in Spain, Italy and the south of France, did not fail to denounce such abuses. It had been attempted by several reformers to restore regularity to the canonical office and to recall the canons to their religious observances; such having been the aim set before him in 1106 by William of Champeaux, creator of the Canons Regular of St Victor, and in 1120 by St Norbert, founder of the Order of Premonstratensians. Since their time, several bishops had succeeded in inducing their chapters to adopt the rule of St Augustine, and amongst them had been Martin of Bazan at Osma, about the year 1195. In spite of a certain amount of opposition, the regular life was professed by the canons of that place; and in 1199 the new and stricter statutes which they had received at the hands of their bishop were confirmed by Innocent III. Didacus d'Azevédo and Dominic probably assisted the prelate in carrying out this reform, since immediately afterwards the one was named prior, the other sub-prior, and when, about 1201, Didacus succeeded Bishop Martin, St Dominic became, with the title of prior, the head of the chapter.¹

Applying himself to the task of maintaining the new observances in all their rigour, he himself set the example of strictness, practising the community life with his colleagues, and quitting the cell or the

¹ Cf. Balme, *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. i. *passim*.

cloister only to chant the divine office in the cathedral or to pass long hours of meditation in his oratory. Thus were spent nine years in retreat; it was his hidden life. Whether owing to the fact that it presented no striking features to the eyes of men, being similar in all external matters to that led by the other canons, or because his biographers have been able to obtain few details relating to this period, very little is known about it.

Alain de la Roche and, following upon him, Jean de Réchac and Baillet, decline, however, to resign themselves to this lack of information. By dint of collecting together worthless legends, they have constructed a fabulous life of St Dominic. According to these writers, those nine years had been devoted by him to missions; he had travelled over several provinces of Spain, preaching against Saracens and heretics, and had even, not far from St James of Compostella, fallen into the hands of pirates. Borne away by sea into captivity he had stilled the violence of a tempest; and by virtue of the Rosary, of which he had just received the revelation, had made converts of the crew. Restored to liberty, he had carried his wanderings further still, had preached devotion to the Blessed Virgin through the Rosary¹ in Armorica, and especially in the dioceses

¹ We purposely omit in this biography any account of the origin of the Rosary or of any efforts of the saint to further this devotion. It is a question more and more contested, since the serious doubts thrown out during the last century by the Bollandists (*cf. Acta Sanctorum*, 4th August); while a biography of the present nature should deal only with scientific certainties.

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of Vannes and of Dol, returning to Spain in order to escape the burden of the episcopate, which the Count of Brittany desired to lay upon him. Sustained by divine grace he had, in the course of these apostolic journeys, made numerous important conversions—that of the Lombard heresiarch Rainier in particular, transformed thereafter into a zealous preacher of the orthodox faith.

An examination, however superficial, of these stories, suffices to prove their mythical character, teeming as they do with anachronisms and improbabilities. "All this," says a Dominican, Father Touron, "can be brought into harmony neither with the rest of the history of our saint, nor with the testimony borne by older writers." The Bollandists have, since, not hesitated to declare that these legends are valueless, and Lacordaire has passed them over in contemptuous silence. Far from travelling over Christendom and preaching the Rosary to the wondering peoples of Spain and Brittany, St Dominic, during these nine years, says Jordan,¹ rarely went beyond the precincts of his monastery.

It was by a mere chance that he left it. In 1203, Alfonso IX., King of Castille, sent the Bishop of Osma to demand from the Lord of the Marches the hand of his daughter on behalf of his son, Prince Ferdinand. Dominic accompanied Didacus on this embassy. Historians have raised questions concerning these Marches, to which thirteenth century chroniclers allude in terms so laconic.

¹ Jordan, *op. cit.* p. 3: "vix extra septa monasterii comparebat."

Some writers—more particularly Bernard Guidonis—noticing the stress laid by Jordan of Saxony upon the length and fatigue of the journey, believe them to have been in Denmark; nor, seeing that Philip Augustus had some years earlier married Ingelburg of Denmark, and that in 1254 another King of Castille, Alfonso X., was to demand the hand of a Norwegian princess, is there any improbability attaching to the supposition that St Dominic had been sent on so distant a mission. According to other writers, it was simply a question of the territory of the French Marches and of the daughter of Count Hugo de Lusignan, a prince powerful enough to be sought as an ally by royal houses. Finally, remembering that the two envoys, on leaving the Marches, visited Innocent III. at Rome before returning to Castille, certain historians have started a new hypothesis, no less possible than others, and have decided in favour of one of the Italian Marches. What is certain is that in the course of this first journey Didacus and Dominic traversed Toulouse, and that they were shocked by the progress which had been made there by the Waldensian and Catharist heresy.

“ On leur dit qu'en che país,
Li bougres si estoient mis ;
Tout environ chèle contrée
Toute la terre estoit semée
De la gent ki Dieu ont guerpi
Por faire honneur à l'ennemi.”¹

¹ Li Romans Saint Dominique (*Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 19531*). Cité par le R. P. Balme.

At Toulouse, perceiving that their host was one of these "bougres," St Dominic set to work at once to convert him; when—argument, controversy and exhortation having failed to produce any result—the change so ardently desired by the saint was one night effected by divine grace. "From that time," says Bernard Guidonis, "he cherished in his heart the project of spending himself for the salvation of misbelievers, and of instituting to that end a preaching Order, to be devoted to the evangelisation of the nations."

The journey from Spain to the Marches was made twice over by Didacus and his companion; in the first instance to demand the princess in marriage, and then, accompanied by a brilliant escort, to fetch her away. On this second occasion, however, their mission came to a tragic end, and they arrived only to be present at the obsequies of the young betrothed. Didacus despatched the melancholy intelligence to his sovereign; and, there being nothing further to detain him in the Marches, he went with St Dominic, towards the end of the year 1204, to Rome, desiring to resign his bishopric, and having placed it in the hands of the Pope, to devote the remainder of his life to the evangelisation of the Cumans and those other unbelievers who were wanderers in the steppes of the Dnieper and the Volga. The attention of Innocent III. was, however, at the time engrossed by other countries, and he was far more absorbed in the Albigensian heresy and the dangers arising from it to the Church in the very heart of her empire. Refusing, therefore, to release Didacus

from his episcopal functions, he sent him instead to preach in Languedoc.

Of the visit of the Bishop of Osma and his companion to Rome very little further is known. According to Bernard Guidonis they won the favour of the Pope and of those who surrounded him; and there were thenceforward established between St Dominic and the Cardinals Savelli and Hugolino—afterwards Popes, under the names of Honorius III. and Gregory IX.—those friendly relations which were to prove so useful in the foundation of the Friars Preachers.

It was to the Cistercian Order that Innocent III. had just intrusted the subjugation of the Albigenses. Amalric, Abbot of Citeaux, with Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, monks of Fontfroide, were to lead the preaching crusade against the heresy; having received for that purpose full powers and authority from the Holy See. Desirous of offering their assistance, the Bishop of Osma and his canon repaired from Rome to Citeaux, and there Didacus, filled with admiration for the monastic observances of that celebrated convent, conceived the scheme of carrying away with him several monks who should implant the Order in his own diocese. If Humbert de Romans is to be believed, he himself took the Cistercian habit, not indeed with the intention of embracing the monastic life in all its strictness—since Innocent III., by retaining him in his diocese, had rendered this impossible—but in order that he might participate, as an Oblate, in the merits of the Order.

These travels of Didacus and St Dominic have served as a pretext for fresh legends, propagated like the rest by Alain de la Roche and Jean de Réchac. On their way to Denmark the two envoys of Alfonso IX. are said to have visited the Court of Philip Augustus, and there to have been honourably entertained by the king's daughter-in-law, Blanche of Castille—this princess being, according to the mythical genealogy arranged after the event for the saint, the cousin of Dominic Guzman. The marriage of Louis of France and of Blanche, up to that time sterile, is reported to have owed its marvellous fruitfulness to the prayers of St Dominic, who, five years in advance, predicted the birth of a son.¹ Again, in their natural desire to make their own Orders participate in the glory of St Dominic, certain monastic writers have made the saint sojourn in convents belonging to them and even make his religious profession there. According to Denys the Carthusian, St Dominic, on his way to Citeaux, visited the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, in order there to become a monk; but the prior, filled with a spirit of prophecy, refused to profess him, saying: "Go, you are reserved for mightier things," and giving him the mission of preaching against the Albigenses. According to other writers, it was St Bernard's habit which was received by St Dominic, at the same time as his bishop; and after having been Premonstratensian and Carthusian, he became Cistercian, without

¹ Married May 23, 1200, Louis and Blanche of Castille only had their first child, Philip, in 1209 (*cf.* Sepet, *Saint Louis*, p. 1).

moreover ceasing to be Canon Regular of St Augustine!

It is useless to dwell at greater length upon these legends. Besides the fact that they are related neither by Jordan, nor by Humbert, nor by Thierry of Apoldia, nor by any chronicler of the thirteenth century, they swarm to such an extent with improbabilities and anachronisms and are in such evident contradiction with what is positively known about the life of the saint, that it would be impossible that they should arrest the attention of the historian.

From Citeaux, Dominic and Didacus proceeded to the south of France, their apostolate beginning from that time. That of Didacus was to last less than two years—until his death in 1206; that of St Dominic was to be longer and more fruitful, since his preaching to the Albigenses was carried on till the year 1215; and from this mission resulted the creation of the Preaching Order.

CHAPTER II

ST DOMINIC AND THE ALBIGENSES

EVER since the first half of the twelfth century the preaching of heresy had been actively carried on, and neo-manichæism had made great progress in Aquitaine and Languedoc. In 1139 the venerable Peter had denounced to the Provençal clergy the secret practices of Peter of Bruys and his principal disciple, Henri.¹

The Waldenses, the Patarins and the Catharists had come from Italy to preach their doctrines in the south of France and had met with a favourable reception there. The nobility had been won over by teaching which delivered up the property of the Church to their greed, legitimising their usurpations in advance; the artisan and peasant classes had applauded the violent attacks directed by the sectaries against the temporal power of the clergy, the dues, and the rights of all kinds possessed by it over the faithful; this religion of individualism had, in fact, possessed from the first the power of leading away many souls, even among the most scrupulous. Civil authority shut its eyes to the progress of the heresy, only sending to the stake such enthusiastic members of the sect as incited the

¹ Vacandard, *Histoire de Saint Bernard*, vol. ii. p. 220.

people too openly to the destruction of churches or the pillage of ecclesiastical property.

In the year 1145, St Bernard had given vent to an eloquent cry of distress: "What have we learnt; and what are we daily learning? What ills has the Church of God suffered and is suffering still, at the hands of the heretic Henri? The basilicas are emptied of the faithful, priests are without honour, churches are regarded as synagogues, the sacraments are despised, feasts no longer solemnised. Men die in their sins, souls appear before the terrible tribunal unreconciled by penance, unfortified by Holy Communion. By the refusal of the grace of Baptism the children of Christian parents are even deprived of the life of Jesus Christ."¹

St Bernard was not satisfied with denouncing the evil; at the request of the Holy See he was ready to combat it in person; but it was in vain. In 1145 he travelled over the south of France, visiting in turn Bordeaux, Bergerac, Périgueux, Sarlat, Cahors, Belleperche, and Toulouse. In spite of his eloquence he rarely achieved a success; while at Verfeil, he failed so much as to gain a hearing; his indignation at the obstinacy of the inhabitants being so great, that in departing he left his malediction upon this nest of heretics: "*Viride folium, desiccet te Deus.*"²

The efforts of the Popes and of their Legates notwithstanding, heterodox doctrines continued to

¹ Vacandard, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 222, from which are also borrowed the following details concerning the sermons of St Bernard.

² "Verfeil, may God wither thee." The saint plays upon the etymology of the name, which signifies also green leaf.

spread during the second half of the twelfth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth, an avowed heretic, Bertrand de Saissac, guardian of Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers and of Carcassonne, had the government of part of Languedoc in his hands; while the Counts of Foix and Toulouse had been secretly gained over to the cause.¹

The heresy had been so firmly implanted in the country that it possessed an organisation of its own and opposed its hierarchy to that of the Catholic Church. Toulouse and Carcassonne had each their Albigensian bishop, Isarn de Castres being, before the time of the crusade, the "bishop of the heretics" at Carcassonne, while at Toulouse the post was filled by Bernard de la Mothe and Bertrand Marty. The bishops were assisted by deacons who had fixed residences in the larger villages, from which they served the country round, preaching the new doctrines or presiding at the rites of initiation or *Consolamentum*. Raymond Bernard was deacon at Montréal, Guilabert de Castres holding the office at Fanjeaux before he became himself bishop of Toulouse. Finally, as in the primitive Church, the faithful were divided into two classes. Of these, the Perfect or *Bonshommes* had received complete initiation or *Consolamentum*; the entire doctrine had been made known to them and it was their duty to teach and spread it; they were bound to abstinence and fasting, to celibacy and to all the observances of the sect, and were sometimes distinguished by a special dress. Those who had

¹ Cf. *Histoire du Languedoc*, by Dom Vaissète (ed. Molinier), vol. vi. p. 154, etc.

made this profession were, in some sort, the active members of the heretical community. Others showed them the greatest respect, "adored" when in their presence, asked their blessing kneeling, ate bread and food which they had blessed, and provided for their maintenance and protection. Those, on the other hand, who are called in our documents 'Believers,' *credentes haereticorum*, were adherents rather than initiates; they constituted, as it were, the third order of the heresy. They had faith in the doctrines of the sect and accepted them blindly; they rendered necessary assistance to the 'Perfect' and were present at the meetings over which they presided; but they continued to lead their ordinary life, married, had children, and were only distinguished from the faithful by their scorn of the Church, of her dogmas and of her practices, unless when led by private interests to modify or to dissimulate their sentiments. Upon their death-beds they often demanded the *Consolamentum*.

The heresy was practised openly in Lauraguais, Razès, Carcassès¹ and in the whole province of Toulouse at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Before the crusade Bishop Isarn de Castres held meetings at Cabaret in the Montagne Noire. Raymond de Simorra carried on his preaching in Carcassonne and Castelnaudary; being found by

¹ These countries almost correspond, the first to the departments of Villefranche and of Castelnaudary, the second to that of Limoux, the third to the cantons of Carcassonne. Fanjeaux et Montréal are at the present day the capitals of the canton, the first in the district of Castelnaudary, the second in that of Carcassonne.

turns at Aragon and at Montalive, near Fanjeaux. In 1206, Isarn de Castres made a pastoral visitation in the neighbourhood of Montréal, and at Villeneuve conferred the *Consolamentum* on Audiarda Ebrarda. Guilabert de Castres had a house at Fanjeaux and there taught the Albigensian doctrines in public.¹

In the time of St Bernard almost all the knight-hood of Languedoc was already heretic: "*fere omnes milites,*" says the holy abbot of Clairvaux despondently. The situation had not altered by 1206; and Innocent III. was not mistaken in attributing the progress made by the Albigensian doctrine to the favour shown to it by the nobility. It was very frequently in the houses of the knights and even of the lords of the country that the Perfect held their meetings, and amongst those who were present are to be found the greatest names of the neighbourhood.

It must not, however, be understood that, if the heretics had an especial value for the support of the great lords and for the protection afforded by them, they therefore showed any neglect of the humbler but more numerous citizen and peasant classes. In the neighbourhood of Caraman and of Verfeil, on the borders of Toulouse and Lauraguais, the entire population had been won over and few persons died without the *Consolamentum*. At Fanjeaux and at Montréal labourers carried on their work on Sundays and on festivals; and for reproaching one of them

¹ We are furnished with this information as to the practices of the heretics in Languedoc at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the valuable registers of the Inquisitors of Toulouse preserved in the library of that town, particularly in MS. 609.

with this on the feast of St John the Baptist, St Dominic came near to being assassinated at Champ du Sicaire. In order to attract artisans, the Perfect had established workshops and manufactories where the young were instructed at once in heretical doctrine and in a trade ; and many of such establishments existed in the township of Fanjeaux alone.

To sum up, at the arrival of Didacus and St Dominic, the county of Toulouse, and particularly Lauraguais and Razès, were deeply permeated by heresy. It declared itself openly, sang its canticles even in the churches of Castelnaudary, robbed the Bishop of Toulouse of his dues and, menacing the chapter of Béziers in its own cathedral, obliged it to entrench itself within its walls. Now the triumph of Albigensianism would have meant the ruin of Christianity, of which it constituted the radical negation.

For, according to these neo-manichæans, the world, instead of being the creation of a beneficent God, was the work and remained the toy, of a malevolent being ; the mystery of the Trinity disappeared in the dualism of two eternal principles, that of good and that of evil ; the work of the Redemption and of Calvary had been nothing but a sham, a divine being having been incapable of suffering in the flesh or of dying. The merits of Jesus Christ having as little reality as the expiation made by Him, salvation through baptism, grace and the sacraments was an illusion, and the practices recommended or enjoined by the Church were consequently as unprofitable as her teaching. The dogmas of the future

life, of the rewards of Heaven, the eternal punishments of Hell, the temporary expiation of Purgatory, the resurrection of the body and the Communion of Saints, were replaced by the doctrine of metempsychosis and the indefinite transmigration of souls from one body to another. No harmony was therefore possible between the Catholic and the Albigensian creeds; the one was bound to kill the other; and it was because he perceived this clearly that St Dominic devoted himself with so great a zeal to preaching against the heresy.¹

Having quitted Citeaux in the course of the first months of 1205, the Bishop of Osma and his canon went to Languedoc, there to join the missionaries sent by Innocent III. against the heretics; finding them near Montpellier, profoundly despondent, and questioning whether their work, like that of those who had gone before them, had not proved a failure.

Heresy was in fact a stronger force than they had imagined, possessing as it did able and learned leaders, capable of holding their own in theological controversy, however arduous. But it was in their asceticism that the strength of these Albigensian doctors chiefly lay. Made up of abstinence and hardship, their lives inspired with the greatest respect the populations who witnessed them; while the conduct of the Cistercians sent out as defenders of orthodoxy was altogether different. Instead of proceeding on foot from township to township, as was the custom of the Perfect, they rode surrounded

¹ For the Albigensian doctrines see Douais, *Les Hérétiques du Comté de Toulouse*.

by a brilliant escort; yokes of oxen were necessary to carry their clothes and their provisions; and these luxurious habits created a scandal in countries which had felt the fascination of the austerity of the *Bonshommes*. "See," they said, "the ministers of a God Who went only on foot, riding; the wealthy missionaries of a God Who was poor; the envoys of a God Who was humble and despised, loaded with honours."¹

Such were not the habits of the Bishop and Canon of Osma. Called to give evidence concerning St Dominic during the process of Canonisation in 1233, the inhabitants of Fanjeaux declared they had never seen so saintly a man. Two women, Guillelma and Tolosana, reported that they had made him hair cloths. Still more intimately acquainted with his manner of life, Brother John of Spain told of his penances and macerations: "Master Dominic had the discipline administered to him, and scourged himself besides with an iron chain." By these means Didacus and he were able, without presumption, to recall the Cistercian missionaries to apostolic austerity. "It will not be by words alone," they said, "that you will bring back to the faith men who rely upon example. Look at the heretics; it is by their affectation of holiness and of evangelical poverty that they persuade the simple. By presenting a contrast you will edify little, you will destroy much, you will gain nothing. Drive out one nail by another; put to flight the show of holiness by the practices of sincere religion." The

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, August 4.

lesson was taken home ; returning to simplicity of life, the Cistercian monks sent back all the trivialities they had brought with them. Only retaining their books of Hours, with such volumes as were indispensable for controversial use, and living in the strictest poverty, they went on foot from village to village, without escort, without money, alone in the midst of heresy ; and, says Jordan of Saxony, when the Perfect saw the change they redoubled their energy in order to resist the assault which was preparing.¹

Under the direction of the Legates St Dominic and Didacus set to work without delay. William of Puylaurens describes them going barefoot from place to place. At the inns where they lodged they lived upon little, practising those abstinences which were later on included in the Rule of the Friars Preachers. In 1207 Didacus went back to Spain, dying there at the moment that he was preparing to return to Languedoc for the prosecution of his missionary labours ; and from thenceforward St Dominic continued alone the work he had undertaken.

Born in 1170, he was at his full vigour when his bishop gave him the direction of the companions who had followed them. One would wish to have a reproduction of his countenance in order to learn from it the secret of the irresistible

¹ *Pedites, sine expensis, in voluntaria paupertate fidem annuntiare ceperunt. Quod ubi viderunt heretici, ceperunt et ipsi ex adverso fortius predicare.* Jordan (*cf.* Quétif and Echard, *op. cit.* p. 5).

power he exercised over them, but it is possible to supply the place of it by the portrait which has been drawn by one of those who witnessed his last years, Sister Cecilia, of the convent of Saint-Sixtus. "He was of middle height," she says,¹ "his countenance beautiful, with little colour, his hair and beard of a bright blond, his eyes fine. A certain radiant light," she adds naïvely, "shining from his brow and from between his lashes attracted love and respect. He was always radiant and joyous, except when moved to compassion by some misfortune of his neighbours. His hands were long and beautiful, his strong voice noble and sonorous. He never became bald, and always retained his monk's coronet, sown with some few white hairs."²

Jordan of Saxony also lays stress upon this luminous expression, if it may be thus described, shining from the features of St Dominic like a radiance proceeding from his soul. "Nothing disturbed the equanimity of his soul, excepting his sense of compassion and pity; and because the countenance of a man is brightened by a happy heart, it was easy to divine, by the kindliness and joy of his face, the serenity within. . . . Notwithstanding the lovable and gentle light which illuminated his countenance, that light never allowed itself to be despised, gaining with ease all hearts, so that scarcely did men look upon it before they were conscious of its attraction."

¹ Sister Cecilia's narrative, cited by Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 219.

² This last characteristic evidently refers to the last years of the saint alone.

The sermons directed by him against heresy manifested this natural ascendancy, and, even to a greater degree, the equanimity of his temper and the serenity of his soul; for difficulties were not wanting. Like St Bernard, he had to bear with outrages from the heretics—"they mocked him," says Jordan, "and following him as he went, cast at him all manner of gibes."¹ "Sometimes insults were accompanied by menaces, met by him with a firmness the more unshaken since it was due to an ardent desire for martyrdom. 'Dost thou not fear death?' he was asked by some astonished heretics. 'What wouldst thou do were we to lay hands on thee?'" 'I would entreat you,' he replied, 'not to put me to death at once, but to tear me limb from limb, so as to prolong my martyrdom. I would fain remain a dismembered trunk, have my eyes torn out, be covered with blood, in order to win at last a fairer martyr's crown!'"² And when he passed through a village where his life was in danger, he crossed it singing. "Persecution never troubled him," says an eye-witness;³ "oftentimes walked in the midst of danger with intrepid confidence, and fear never once turned him aside from his path. Rather, when overcome with slumber, he would lie down by the side of the road and sleep there." Several times, however, the threats of the heretics came near to being realised. One day, when he was ascending from Prouille to Fanjeaux by a sunken road, "feeling a presentiment that an ambush

¹ Jordan of Saxony, *op. cit.* p. 9.

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Enquiry of Toulouse.*

awaited him, he was walking along, intrepid and on the alert. Some satellites of Anti-Christ were waiting to kill him," only abandoning their project when they became persuaded that martyrdom would cause him nothing but happiness. "Why should we play his game?" they said. "Would it not be to second his ardent wishes rather than to hurt him?" And thenceforward they refrained from laying snares for him. The remembrance of this occurrence has been preserved by tradition, and the pathway by which he passed is still called the Assassins' road.¹

At the Montpellier meeting, Didacus had declared that it must be by means of preaching and of good example that the heretics must be brought back. Dominic and his companions had recourse to controversy. They were accustomed to arrange beforehand place and time for a conference between the two parties; heretics and Catholics attended from all the regions round about — knights, women, peasants taking part in it. The crowd, doubtless by acclamation, designated a president and assessors, charged with the duty of keeping the balance even between the two parties; and the court being constituted, serious and searching debates began. On one and the other side *libelli* were produced, genuine memoranda prepared beforehand upon some contested question which should serve as the basis of discussion. An oratorical struggle between the chiefs of the two sides followed—a tournament of argument

¹ A cross has been erected on the spot where tradition places this occurrence.

which was most frequently terminated by a vote of the assembly. Jordan of Saxony makes mention of balloting as taking place at the end of the meetings; no doubt according to the order of the day and for the purpose of giving those present an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the discussion they had heard.

St Dominic held a large number of these meetings. The first of them took place at Servian, near Béziers. Accompanied by the Bishop and by the Canon of Osma, the papal Legates came from Montpellier, putting the austere counsels of Didacus for the first time into practice. Now at Servian the two catharist ministers, Baldwin and Thierry, were enjoying full liberty in the matter of preaching, thanks to the especial favour shown to them by the territorial lord. But when from the heights of the ramparts the people saw the missionaries of the Holy See ascending towards them with bleeding feet and humble bearing, they compelled the two heretics to accept their invitation to public controversy. It lasted for eight days and produced so deep an impression that the people escorted St Dominic and his companions a league on their way to Béziers.

From Servian they went on to Béziers, one of the strongholds of heresy. There the Perfect were all-powerful, thanks to the connivance of the viscount, of the consuls and of the bishop himself. During a fortnight preaching and controversy were carried on: but the efforts of the missionaries did not meet with the success they deserved; and if several isolated conversions took place, the mass of the

population remained faithful to the Waldensian doctrines.

Carcassonne was the third halting-place of the mission. For eight consecutive days public controversies succeeded one another without engaging the heretic forces.¹ At last the pasture lands of Lauraguais and Toulousain were reached—the districts which were to be in some sort the headquarters of St Dominic's preaching. Thenceforth Fanjeaux became the favourite residence of himself and his companions, from whence he went in all directions to challenge the Albigensian ministers to discussion.

At Verfeil his measure of success was no greater than that of St Bernard himself, and the Bishop of Osma was exasperated to such a degree by the obstinacy of the inhabitants that, like the Abbot of Clairvaux, he too launched his anathema upon them: "Cursed be ye, unmannerly heretics; I should have credited you with better sense."¹

The conference which took place at Pamiers in the following year (1207) was one of the most important of all. The Count de Foix was himself the challenger and it was held in his castle. Like most of the southern lords, Raymond Roger had been won over to the new doctrines; while his sister Esclarmonde was one of the most fervent adepts of the Albigensian faith, of which she made public profession. Nevertheless, priding himself upon his

¹ We borrow these details from the *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, by Balme.

² William of Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 8.

tolerance and his impartiality, he invited to his house the representatives of the two rival parties who carried most weight, St Dominic and Didacus meeting there Foulques and Navar, ardent defenders of the orthodox faith, who had just replaced heretics in the sees of Toulouse and of Conserans.¹ The discussion was carried on with much animation, and on Esclarmonde interposing on behalf of the heresy she drew forth from Brother Stephen the bold apostrophe: "Get you to your distaff; it does not become you to meddle in this affair!" The day was favourable to the Catholic cause; the Waldensian minister, Durando de Huesca, was converted, presently founding the Order of Poor Catholics; his example was followed by Durando of Najac, William de Saint-Antoine, John of Narbonne, Ermengard and Bernard of Béziers; the umpire of the meeting himself, Arnold de Campragna, who had hitherto inclined to the Waldensian doctrines, offering himself and his goods to the Bishop of Osma, and becoming later on the faithful and zealous friend of St Dominic.²

Jordan of Saxony makes mention of frequent meetings of the kind at Montréal and at Panjeaux: *frequenter ibi disputationes fiebant*. One of them was marked by a miraculous occurrence. "It chanced that a great conference was held at Panjeaux, in the presence of a multitude of the

¹ Foulques had been bishop from 1205, having then replaced Raymond de Rabasteins, deposed as guilty of connivance with heresy. Navar had only been bishop some few months.

² Pierre de Vaux-Cernay, *Hist. de la Guerre des Albigeois*, ch. vi.

faithful and unfaithful who had been summoned thither. The Catholics had prepared several memoranda containing reasons and authorities in support of their faith. But, after a comparison of them, they gave the preference to the one written by the blessed servant of God, Dominic, and determined to oppose it to that of the heretics. Three arbitrators were chosen by common consent to judge to which party belonged the best arguments and the most solid faith. Now, when after much talk these arbitrators could not agree together, the idea occurred to them to cast the two memoranda into the fire, so that, should one of them be spared by the flames, it might be certain that it contained the true doctrine of the faith. A great fire is therefore lighted and the two volumes are cast into it; that of the heretics is consumed; the other—written by the blessed servant of God, Dominic—not only remains intact, but is thrown forth by the flames in the presence of the whole assembly. A second and a third time it is cast into the fire; a second and a third time the result is the same, manifesting clearly on which side lies the truth and testifying to the holiness of him by whom the book was written.”¹

Peter of Vaux-Cernay, and after him the chronicler

¹ Jordan of Saxony, *cp. Quétif, op. cit.* p. 6. The tradition of this miracle has been preserved at Fanjeaux. About 1325 the consuls of the town bought from Raymond de Durfort the house belonging to his heretical ancestors where this prodigy took place, making of it a chapel which they dedicated to the saint and which remained the church of the convent of the Preaching Brothers at Fanjeaux until the Revolution.

Mathieu de Feurs, place this miracle at Montréal and relate it with some slight variations.

According to them, one of the heretics had stolen the memorandum prepared by the saint for the conference: "then his companions said that he should cast the paper into the fire, and that if it was burnt, their faith should be true; and that if it could not burn that the faith of the Roman Church should be true: for which reason it was thrown into the fire. And after the same had remained a little space without any scorching, it leapt out of the fire, at which all remained amazed. Then, said one of them more obstinate than the rest, let it be thrown in again, and thus shall we prove more plainly the truth; which then happened after the same manner as before. And again he said, let it be cast in a third time and then we shall know, without any doubt, the truth; and cast again into the fire, it came out whole."¹

These prodigies notwithstanding, coupled with his apostolic zeal, St Dominic's preaching did not meet with all the success which had been hoped for. But events, hastening on from 1208 to 1215—the crusade which threw itself upon the south and the friendship of Simon de Montfort—lent new strength to the proceedings of the saint.

On the 15th of January 1208, one of the Cistercian Legates, Peter of Castelnau, died by the dagger of a heretic, in consequence of having called upon Raymond VI. to obey the Church; and on the following 10th of March, Innocent III., in letters

¹ Quoted by Balme, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 124.

full of fire, wrote to stir up the indignation of the faithful against the crime, excommunicated the Count of Toulouse and decreed the crusade. In the spring of the next year the chivalry of the north flung themselves upon the south by the valley of the Rhone and the passes of Auvergne, and in spite of a spirited resistance, took possession, by one blow after another, of Béziers, Narbonne and Carcassonne; while, by 1210, lower Languedoc was in the hands of the crusaders, who placed over it as head their own leader, Simon de Montfort.¹

Now, the Count de Montfort lost no time in forming a strong friendship with St Dominic; "he conceived for him a great affection, having for the saint, says Jordan, a special devotion." "They became so intimate," adds Humbert,² "that the Count chose the saint to give the nuptial blessing to his son, Amaury, and to baptize the daughter who became prioress of Saint Antoine at Paris." Again and again the two friends were brought together in the course of their labours, pursuing as they did, though by different means, the same end. On September 1st, 1209, at the head of his army, Simon passed by the foot of the hill of Fanjeaux, where it is possible that their first interview took place. In 1211, at the siege of Lavaur, Dominic was at Simon's side; as was also the case, in July 1212, at the capture of La Penne d'Ajen. Some months later, the leader of the crusade summoned together "the bishops and the nobles of his dominions at

¹ *Histoire du Languedoc*, vol. vi. p. 325, etc.

² *Acta SS.*, 4th August.

Pamiers, in order to purify the country from the uncleanness of heresy, to establish there good morals and customs favourable to religion, to peace and to security." Dominic obeyed this fresh call. Some months later, in May 1213, important military reinforcements arriving from France, Simon came to receive them at the foot of Fanjeaux; and as Chaplain of Fanjeaux and Prior of Prouille, St Dominic once more rejoined him. On the 24th of the following June an imposing ceremony took place at Castelnaudary. In the presence of a numerous company, on a vast plain covered with tents, Simon bestowed knighthood on his son Amaury; while once again, as the friend of the young man—to whom he was later on to give the marriage blessing—and as representative of the Bishop of Carcassonne, Dominic stood beside him.

Lastly, at the decisive battle of Muret, on the 12th September 1213, the saint was among the monks and prelates who gave the leader of the crusade their counsels and their prayers. "During the fight, the six bishops who were present—Foulques of Toulouse, Guy of Béziers, Theodisius of Agde, those of Nîmes, of Comminges and of Lodève—the three abbots of Clairac, Villemagne and St Tibéry, with several monks, amongst whom was the friend of God, Dominic, Canon of Osma, withdrew into the church, and following the example of Moses as he lifted his hands to heaven during the battles of Joshua, they entreated the Lord on behalf of His servants. . . . With such ardour did they raise their cry to heaven that it seemed that they shouted rather than prayed :

*orantes vero et clamantes in cœlum, tantum mugitum pro imminente angustia emittebant, quod ululantes videntur potius quam orantes.*¹

Nine months later, the two friends were yet again brought together under quite different circumstances. At Carcassonne, in the cathedral church of St Nazaire, in the presence of the Bishop of Toulouse, and of the French barons of all that region, St Dominic gave his solemn blessing to the marriage of Amaury de Montfort with the daughter of the Viennese Dauphin.² Thus, all serious matters combined to unite Crusader and Preacher, and their lives were intimately interpenetrated the one by the other.

This illustrious friendship was each day increasing the ascendancy of St Dominic, and giving efficacy to his words. Did the saint ask yet more from it; and were the severities of the secular arm brought to bear to strengthen the arguments of the missionary? It is a serious question, often debated between those who see in St Dominic the precursor of Torquemada, and those who, by an exaggeration of an opposite nature, would end by confounding him with the gentle mystic of Assisi.

The Dominican historian Malvenda, so late as the seventeenth century, did not hesitate to claim for the founder of his Order the glory of having established the Inquisition and delivered up heretics

¹ Bernard Guidonis, *Catalogus Romanorum Pontificum*. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc.* vol. v. p. 768.

² Manachi, *Annales Ordinis Prædicatorum*, App. p. 229.

to the fire of the stake.¹ But by the eighteenth century, when more tolerant views had made progress, Father Echard refused to believe in such severity on the part of the saint, and describes him as "subduing heretics by argument and example, without having recourse either to the sword, to steel, or to fire, with all of which he had nothing to do." In this assertion the Bollandist, William Caper, saw a concession to the spirit of the age, made at the cost of historical truth; and after claiming for the Church, as St Thomas also did, the power of excluding her foes from the society of the living, as well as from the communion of the saints, he tries to prove that St Dominic made use of that right. "The impenitent Liberal," Lacordaire, writing his *Life of St Dominic*, with the object of re-establishing the Order of the Preaching Friars in nineteenth century France, took up once more the position of Father Echard; and the friend of Simon de Montfort appears in his work with the features, so to speak, of an editor of the *Avenir*—of Lacordaire himself. "These," he says, "were the weapons to which Dominic had recourse against heresy and against the evils of war—sermons in the midst of abuse, controversy, patience, voluntary poverty, a life of hardship for himself, unlimited charity towards others, the gift of miracles, and lastly, the promotion of the worship of the Blessed Virgin by the institution of the Rosary. The light of history is wanting, because the man of God withdrew from

¹ Cf. on this question the excellent dissertation of the Bollandists in their *Acta SS.*, 4th August.

clamour and from blood, because, faithful to his mission, he only opened his lips to bless, his heart to pray, his hands to perform the offices of love, and because virtue when it is solitary has no sun but in God.”¹

Eager for the truth and taking account of nothing else, the historian can only seek in documentary evidence the solution of all these contradictions. Now, we possess upon this question two documents of St Dominic’s own:² in the one he *reconciles* the converted heretic, Ponce Roger, “in virtue of the authority intrusted to him by the Lord Abbot of Citeaux, Legate of the Apostolic See”; imposing upon him a canonical penance to be performed under pain of being treated “as forsworn and heretic, excommunicated and cut off from the body of the faithful.” In the other he intrusts to a citizen of Toulouse the supervision of a converted heretic, pending the decision of the Cardinal Legate. Finally, a writing of Thierry of Apoldia, quoted by Lacordaire himself, shows him in the exercise of the functions intrusted to him by the representatives of the Holy See: “Certain heretics having been taken and convicted in the country of Toulouse, were delivered over to the secular court, because they refused to return to the faith, and were condemned to be burnt. Dominic, looking upon one of them with a heart initiated into the secrets of God,

¹ Lacordaire, *Vie de Saint Dominique*, p. 117. It is difficult to imagine a passage at once so fine from a literary point of view and so devoid of historical criticism.

² They have been published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.*, 4th August) and by Echard (*Script. Ord. Prædic.*).

said to the officers of the court: "Set this one apart, and take heed not to burn him." Then turning with great gentleness towards the heretic, "I know, my son," he said to him, "that you need time, but that in the end you will become good and holy." Alike wonderful and lovable! That man remained twenty more years in the blindness of heresy; after which, touched by grace, he asked for the habit of a Preaching Friar, living thenceforward, and dying, in the faith." According to Constantine of Orvieto, who relates the same fact in almost the same words, his name was Raymond Gros. Comparing with all these documents the canon of the Council of Verona, renewed in 1208 by the Council of Avignon,¹ which orders that apostates who, after being convicted of heresy by their bishops or their representatives, should obstinately persist in their errors, should be delivered over to the secular arm, it would seem that it must be concluded that, by virtue of the delegated authority of the Cistercian monks, St Dominic was to *convict* the heretics; and that, in convicting them, he delivered them up, indirectly but surely, to execution, unless he suspended, by an act of clemency, the action of that docile instrument of the Church, the secular arm. Doubtless, he did not himself pronounce the fatal sentence; but during their trial he played the part of an expert in the matter of orthodoxy; or even of a juror, transmitting to the court a verdict of guilty while capable at the same time of signing a recommendation to mercy.

Instead of expending their talents in subtle argu-

¹ Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. p. 42.

ments with a suspicion of special pleading about them, Echard and Lacordaire would have done better to explain the line of conduct pursued by the Holy See and St Dominic. Without going into the fundamental doctrine of St Thomas, and bearing in mind the evangelical precepts, *Love one another. . . . Do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you. . . . All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword*; which, better than the indifference of the sceptic, contain the principles of tolerance; and not even believing that pure reasons of state, so often quoted against the Church, can justify persecution, it would nevertheless seem that the repression of the Albigensian heresy was demanded by grave social interests. It was not a question of bringing straying nations back to orthodoxy, nor even of reducing political rebels to order, but of protecting society from subversive and anarchic doctrines. In the thirteenth century, as ever, the Church was fighting at one and the same time for herself and for social order as a whole. "It must be confessed," writes the author of *Additions à l'Histoire du Languedoc*, "that the principles of Manichæism and of the heretics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, attacking society at its very foundations, would have been productive of the strangest and most dangerous disturbances, and would have permanently shaken both law and political society." And the learned archivist of the Gironde, M. Brutails, arrives at a like conclusion. "The disorders and incalculable evils caused by the Albigenses and other sects, had led the Papacy and

the sovereigns of western Europe to take severe measures against heretics. Such a proscription was not the effect of that fierce hatred of the misbeliever which is imputed to the princes of that day. It was dictated by a consideration happily summed up by a writer who says that heresy was then as much a social as a religious crime."¹

It would indeed be difficult to find in the works of Schopenhauer, of Nietzsche, and of other contemporary pessimists and nihilists any doctrines more deceptive or more discouraging than those of the Albigenses. According to their ministers, the world was the work of the devil—the creator of all visible things, and if God had intervened at all in this shaping of existences, He had done so only in order still further to weaken man, endowed with too much strength by the demon. Every living creature was unclean; life was the supreme misfortune; to communicate it was to participate in the diabolical act of creation; duty consisted alone in its destruction.² This was the reason of the horror entertained by the heretics for marriage and the family. "Marriage is nothing at all," said some. "In the marriage state salvation is impossible," asserted Ponce Grimoard of Castelsarrasin. Not only could it not lead to salvation, but it was the mortal sin *par excellence*—"a man sins as much with his wife as with any other woman." And carrying out their views to their

¹ Brutails, *Les Populations rurales de Roussillon au moyen âge*, p. 296.

² Cf. Abbé Douais, *Les Hérétiques du Comté de Toulouse au XIII^e siècle*.

conclusion they ended by saying, like our modern anarchists, "Marriage is legalised concubinage."¹ Thus the Perfect vowed themselves to perpetual celibacy, not from love of virginity, but from disgust and hatred for existence.

Several among them went further still and preached the necessity under which each individual lay of self-annihilation. To be swallowed up in nothingness in the same way as the mystics are swallowed up in God; to abstract themselves from life to the point of becoming unconscious of it and to fall into that which the Indian fakir calls Nirvana—such was the practice of their saints. Berbeguera, wife of Lobent, a knight of Puylaurens, went out of curiosity to see one of these heretics: he seemed to her, she says, the strangest marvel; having for long remained seated in his chair, as motionless as the trunk of a tree.² From such doctrines as these, being as they were radical negations of human activity and of the family, greater respect for social ties was not to be expected. Doubtless, like Luther and other heretics who enjoyed for a time the support of princes, the Albigenses did not always insist upon theories which would have alienated useful protectors; but the less politic amongst them did not hesitate to declare laws vain and social sanctions illegitimate, nor to stigmatise as an assassin the judge by whom a capital sentence was pronounced.

Now these doctrines did not remain confined to

¹ Examination of Bernard de Caux in 1245. *Bibl. of Toulouse MS. 609.*

² *Ibidem.*

a narrow circle of adventurous spirits: through the preaching of the Perfect they had penetrated the lowest classes; so that at Gaja¹ the very vagrants were found discussing the Eucharist. The common people accepted these beliefs the more readily for the very reason that, being incapable of understanding them, they were attracted by the mystery which surrounded them. How many free-thinkers of modern times have been won over to Freemasonry rather by the obscure character of the association than by any enfranchisement of their own limited intelligence? And, with the rites of the *Consolamentum*, celebrated in the presence of initiates, with its rallying signs and its secret discipline, Albigensianism was, in the thirteenth century, the freemasonry of the south of France; while in any case its theories, the number of its adherents, and its organisation made it a public danger, so that, from this point of view, its repression was a necessity. Those who, in our own day, and without the least prejudice, either philosophical or religious, have made laws and enacted the necessary penalties against "associations of malefactors" are in no position to blame the Church and St Dominic for having protected society after the same fashion from the fanatics of a similar nature by whom its existence was menaced in the thirteenth century. Doubtless the means taken were violent and sometimes cruel: no one in our day would think of lighting funeral piles in order to defend social order;

¹ A village situated between Fanjeaux et Castelnaudary, in the department of Aude.

but it must be remembered that the penal code of the middle ages was much more rigorous than our own, and that the severities by which we are amazed then shocked no one—not even the good St Louis, by whom they were inscribed amongst his ordinances. It has besides been noticed some time ago that the inquisitorial procedure gave the defence many more guarantees than were afforded by the civil courts,¹ and also that the canons of the Councils of Avignon, of Béziers and of Narbonne, directed especially against the Albigensian heresy, moderated the rigour of secular justice towards the prisoners.²

Without any repugnance for such measures as all the world then approved, St Dominic nevertheless counted above all on the power of example. One of those who knew him best, the Abbot of St Paul of Narbonne, thus describes him in the canonisation proceedings: “The blessed Dominic had an eager thirst for the salvation of souls and an unbounded zeal on their behalf. He was so fervent a preacher that, day and night, in churches, in houses, in the fields, on the roads, he never ceased to proclaim the word of God, enjoining on his brethren to do the same and to let their conversation be of God alone. . . . His frugality was so austere that except on rare occasions and out of consideration for the Brethren and others who might be at table with him, he ate nothing but bread and soup. I have heard from many

¹ Cf. Douais, *The formula Communicato bonorum virorum consilio*, of *inquisitorial sentences*. *The Middle Ages*, vol. xi. p. 157 etc.

² Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. par. i. *pass.*

that his purity was unsullied. . . . I have never seen a man so humble or one who more despised the glory of the world and all that belongs to it. He accepted insults, curses, abuse, with patience and joy, like gifts of great price. . . . He despised himself greatly, reckoning himself as nought. With tender kindness he comforted those of the Fathers who were sick, bearing admirably with their infirmities. I have never seen a man to whom prayer was more habitual. He passed whole nights without sleep, sighing and weeping for the sins of others. Generous and hospitable, he gladly bestowed upon the poor all that he possessed. I never heard or knew of his having any other bed but the church when a church was within reach ; if the church was lacking, he lay upon a bench or on the ground, or upon the planks of the bed which had been prepared for him, after taking the bedding off it. He loved the faith and he loved peace, and as much as in him lay he was the loyal furtherer of the one and of the other.”¹

His influence increased from day to day. The canon who had accompanied his bishop in a humble capacity had become one of the great powers of orthodoxy and had formed ties of friendship with Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, Garcias de l’Orte, bishop of Comminges, Navar, bishop of Conserans, all of whom had been witnesses of his zeal and of his controversial skill. One of his companions, Guy of Vaux-Cernay, had become bishop of Carcassonne and often had recourse to him for help and counsel.

¹ Inquisition of Toulouse. Boll. *Acta SS.* 4th August.

In the beginning of the year 1213 especially this was the case. The threatening attitude of Pedro, King of Arragon, who had for allies the Counts of Toulouse and of Foix, had compelled Simon de Montfort to demand fresh reinforcements from the northern knighthood, and the two bishops of Toulouse and Carcassonne had repaired to France in order to gain over Philip Augustus and his son Louis to the cause of the crusade and to obtain fresh recruits for the Catholic forces. At his departure, Guy intrusted to St Dominic the spiritual care of his diocese,¹ and from the first days of Lent 1213 (the end of February) the saint, accompanied by Stephen of Metz, was installed in the episcopal palace of Carcassonne. He did not for that reason discontinue his sermons, and heretics being very numerous in that town he held conferences for them in the Cathedral of St Nazaire; while increasing, these occupations notwithstanding, his Lenten austerities, "living upon bread and water alone and never making use of a bed."²

It was wished to raise him to the episcopate; and after the death of Bertrand d'Aigrefeuille in July 1212, and at the instigation of the archdeacon, Peter Amiel, the future archbishop of Narbonne, he was chosen by the Chapter of Béziers for their bishop; while not long after, on the translation of the bishop of Comminges, Garcias de l'Orte, to the arch-episcopal See of Auch and upon his recommendation, the canons of St Lizier wished to make

¹ Thierry of Apoldia, Boll. *Acta SS.* 4th August.

² Balme, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 375. Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 232.

St Dominic his successor. Lastly, about 1215, when the bishopric of Conserans became vacant by the death or resignation of Navar, another attempt was made by Garcias de l'Orte to raise the saint to the episcopate by placing him at the head of that diocese. Dominic, however, always declined with the greatest determination, declaring "that he would sooner take flight in the night, with nothing but his staff, than accept the episcopate."² His reiterated refusal was not the result of extreme humility alone: according to the testimony of the Abbot of Boulbonne,² the saint desired to remain at liberty to devote himself to the two great creations of which his missions had proved to him the need; "he had," he said, "to busy himself with the establishment of the Friars Preachers and of the nuns of Prouille. This was his work and his mission, and he would undertake no other."

¹ *Ibidem*, vol. i. p. 479.

² Inquisition of Toulouse.

CHAPTER III

FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF PROUILLE

THE heretical leaders made great account of the co-operation of women, and were bent upon winning them over to their sect. Through them heretical doctrine was preserved on the domestic hearth and was transmitted to future generations. If Aimery, lord of Montréal, was one of the most energetic supporters of Albigensianism, it was because his zeal was unceasingly kept up by his mother Blanche and his sister Mabilia; while at Fanjeaux, Véziade de Festes, the wife of one of the principal knights of the neighbourhood, had been brought up by her grandmother in these doctrines, and had practised them from childhood. With what ardour Esclarmonde de Foix had taken the catharistic side at the Pamiers conference has been already shown; and later on one of the bitterest opponents of the crusaders, Bernard-Atho de Niort, declared before the Inquisition that he owed his zeal for heresy to the education given him by his grandmother, Blanche de Laurac.¹

It was also most frequently women who supplied the catharist bishops and deacons with their meeting-

¹ All this information is drawn from the inquisitorial reports of 1242-1245.

places. The mother of the Sire de Montréal and the grandmother of Bernard de Niort, Blanche de Laurac, put her house at their disposal from 1203 to 1208; and heretical assemblies were also held at the houses of Wilhelmina de Tonneins at Fanjeaux; of Fabrissa de Mazeroles, Ferranda, Serrona, and Pagana at Montréal; and at that of another noble lady, Alazaïs de Cuguro, herself a preacher of heresy, at Villeneuve. It was in the power of the wives of the poorest of the people to render to the cause services of a different kind; executing commissions and carrying secret messages with so much the more success by reason of the obscurity of their rank, which permitted them to go about without attracting notice. Begging by the way, living on bread and nuts, Wilhelmina Marty rendered the greatest help by conveying to the heretic weavers the orders of their co-religionists.

Now there were in these districts of Languedoc, nobles who were induced by poverty "to intrust the bringing up and education of their daughters to heretics."¹ It was thus, no doubt, that at two years and a half old, Na Garsen Richols was clothed at Bram in 1195 with the Perfect habit, which was also taken by Saura at Villeneuve-la-Comtal at the age of seven. When she had scarcely reached her eleventh year, P. Covinius was given over by her brother Peter Coloma to the heretics; at Castelnaudary Guiranda "being yet quite little" was made an initiate, as was also the case with

¹ Jordain de Saxe and Humbert de Romanis. Echard, i. p. 6.

Arnalde de Frémiac "during her childhood," and Florence de Villesisle at the age of five.

To receive these children heretic convents had been organised. The women of whom they were composed had received complete initiation, were distinguished by a special dress, and practised the observances of the sect in all their severity. One of these training houses for novices existed at Cabaret; to which, when scarcely seven years old, Maurina de Villesisle was taken to be with her aunt, "who, together with her associates, lived there." Blanche of Montréal directed a community of the kind at Laurac. Towards the year 1200, Saura was brought up under the like conditions by Alazaïs de Cuguro *and her associates*; and in the same little town,¹ Bernarde de Ricord presided over a similar assembly—it was from the latter *and her associates* that Audiarda Ebrarda received the initiation. These communities kept up a correspondence with one another, and were like houses of the same religious order, a mutual support. In 1206, Dolcia left her husband, Peter Fabre, to embrace the heresy, coming to join Gaillarde and her associates at Villeneuve; but, doubtless, not finding herself in sufficient security there, she was sent to Castelnaudary "to Blanche and her associates," where she remained for a year, separated from her family. Having afterwards left this asylum, she came to Laurac

¹ "Saura . . . testis jurata, dixit quod, dum esset septem annorum, fecit se hereticam et stetit heretica induta per tres annos et stabat apud Villam novam cum Alazaicia de Cuguro et sociis suis hereticabus." *Biblioth. de Toulouse MS.* 609, p. 143.

“to Brunissende and her associates,” and at the end of a year was admitted to the noviciate—“*stetit in probatione.*”

Thus were these initiates trained whose apostolate was so fruitful among women. In the meetings of the sect the feminine element was always large. At Fanjeaux most ladies of rank were fervent adepts in the heresy, the lady of the castle herself, Cavaers, being affiliated to the sect. Several were not content with the position of simple Believers, but demanded complete initiation—the *Consolamentum*—in order to be admitted into the class of the Perfect. In 1204, at a solemn assembly where all were met together, Guilabert de Castres conferred the *Consolamentum* on three women belonging to the illustrious house of Durfort, as well as on the Suzeraine of the place herself, Esclarmonde de Foix.¹

In the course of his missions, it was impossible that St Dominic should have failed to become interested in a propaganda of this nature; and women, besides, were in the habit of assisting at the public conferences at which the discussions between the saint and the heretics were carried on, several having thus been brought back to orthodoxy by means of the arguments of St Dominic and Didacus. Now it is related by Humbert de Romans that on a certain evening in the year 1206, St Dominic having gone into the church of Fanjeaux to pray, after one of his open air sermons, several of these women initiates introduced themselves to

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 108.

him, and, falling at his feet, declared themselves converted by the discourse which he had just delivered. "Servant of God," they said, "if that be truth which you have preached to-day, then the spirit of error has blinded us for long; for those called by you heretics have been up to the present time our teachers; we call them *Bonshommes*, we have given our whole-hearted adhesion to their doctrines, and remain now in cruel uncertainty. Servant of God, we entreat you, pray to the Lord that He may reveal to us the faith in which we may live, may die, and may be saved." "Take courage," said the saint, "the Lord God, who wills that none should be lost, will show you the master whom hitherto ye have served." And thereupon, related one of the women later, the demon appeared to them in the form of a hideous cat.¹

It was not enough to convert the women belonging to the simple believers and the initiates: it was further necessary to preserve their infant faith from all manner of antagonistic influences. Often belonging to the families of heretics, they had to bear the objurgations or supplications of their relations; and disheartened at the outset by these obstacles, certain timid spirits might have shrunk from an abjuration which would be accompanied by such serious vexations. To provide a remedy, it was necessary to create refuges in which, after their conversion, they should find shelter from all that might interpose difficulties in the way of their return to the Church; in a word, it was necessary to organise a pious

¹ Humbert de Romanis, ch. xii., *Inquisition of Toulouse*.

association for the New Converts. Whether St Dominic alone conceived the idea, as Humbert asserts, or whether it was shared by Didacus, it is impossible to say. One may, however, observe that, at the time when Jordan was writing, St Dominic had not yet been canonised, as he was in Humbert's day, and that it is possible that, after the solemn act of canonisation, Dominican historians felt a natural temptation to attribute everything that had been done to the saint, and that the nuns of Prouille may likewise have been led to claim him as the sole founder of their community.

Marvellous signs indicated to St Dominic the spot on which the new monastery should be raised. On the evening of the Feast of St Mary Magdalen (July 22, 1206) he was resting from the fatigues of the day, and, seated in front of the northern gate of Fanjeaux, was contemplating from that height the vast plain which lay at his feet, stretching to the distant slopes of the Montagne Noire and just then lit by the setting sun. His eyes could reach as far as the pasture lands of Lauraguais, between Castelnaudary and Carcassonne; and nearer still lay Montréal, firmly seated upon its hill, the villages of Villeneuve, Villasavary, Villesisclé, Bram and Alzonne, all scattered upon the plain, with the forts¹ of which the towers marked the limits of Razès. Before his spiritual vision the remembrance of his apostolic labours, of which this region had been the theatre, unfolded itself; his thoughts turning themselves

¹ These were fortified rural groups. Du Cange translates the word *forcia* by *munitio*.

afresh to the convert for the new converts which it was his dream to found; and he implored Our Lady, if such was the divine will, to inspire and to assist him. All at once a luminous globe descends from heaven, hovers in space, and leaving a wavering trail of fire behind it, floats above the plain, and over the forsaken church of Prouille. On the two following days, the wonder again took place; after which there was no further doubt or hesitation—the foundation of the monastery of Our Lady of Prouille was decided upon.

Thereupon, by a deed which, though undated, must have belonged to the period between the months of August and December 1206, Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, presented “to Dominic of Osma the Church of St Mary of Prouille and the adjacent land, to the extent of thirty feet,” for the use of the women who were already converted or should be converted in the future.¹ In his *Monumenta conventus Tolosani*, Percin states that it was also necessary to obtain the consent of a noble lady of Fanjeaux, Cavaers, who possessed rights over the territory of Prouille.

Having taken these initial steps, St Dominic set himself to work at the constitution of the convent. The beginnings of it were humble, the buildings only consisting of one modest house, hastily erected at the side of the church; and though the nuns were only nine in number there

¹ Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani*, p. 5. We do not possess the original of this donation, but Percin has transmitted to us a copy which he states that he found in an old manuscript belonging to the monastery.

was some difficulty in finding room for them within the narrow limits of the monastery. They consisted of Adalaïs, Raymonde Passarine, Berengaria, Richarde of Barbaira, Jordane, Wilhelmina of Belpech, Curtolane, Claretta and Gentiana, their number being shortly completed by the arrival of Manenta and of Wilhelmina of Fanjeaux, all belonging to the neighbouring nobility, according to Jordan, *nobiles matronae Fanijovis*. By the 21st of November they were assembled at Prouille, and in establishing, on the 27th of December, the monastic rule of the cloister, St Dominic definitely accomplished their separation from the world. Thenceforward their lives were spent behind their gratings, under the direction of their holy founder, their days and the greater part of their nights being spent in manual labour, prayer and religious contemplation. So long as Dominic remained at hand they had no fixed rule; but later on, when the development of the Order of Preaching Friars demanded his presence in Rome, he gave the cloistered sisters of Prouille and St Sixtus the constitutions which became the Rule of the Dominican nuns of the great Order.¹

Born in poverty, the convent soon became the recipient of gifts, and in 1207, Berenger, bishop of Narbonne, assigned to it the parochial church of St Martin of Limoux.² We shall not follow in detail

¹ These will be studied in chap. vii.

² For the probable reasons for this, as well as for the other donations made to St Dominic for his convent at Prouille, see our article upon "St Dominic and the Foundation of the Monastery of Prouille," *Revue Historique*, vol. lxiv. p. 225.

the progress made by the convent in material matters during the lifetime of the saint. It is sufficient to bear in mind that Simon de Montfort was its principal benefactor and that, following in his steps, the knights of the crusade were all anxious to testify their admiration for St Dominic by means of gifts to Prouille. Thus, mostly out of the spoils of the Faidis, were formed the domains of Bram and of Sauzens, of Fanjeaux, of Agassens and of Fenouillet. A practical man no less than a mystic, Dominic ably administered the little patrimony of his nuns, and with the help of his friend William Claret, the procurator of the monastery, contrived by means of skilful purchases to join together scattered possessions and thus to constitute homogeneous and manageable estates.

His great object was to secure for his humble foundation the guarantees which were so necessary in those troubled times and in a country ceaselessly disturbed by war. He was not content with obtaining from Simon de Montfort the confirmation of each separate donation; but demanded from him also general privileges, with the result that on December 13, 1217, some weeks before his death, the leader of the crusade directed his seneschals of Carcassonne and of Agen to take under their special charge the goods of "his dear brother Dominic," as if they had been his own.¹ Some years later when, after the death of Simon de Montfort, it seemed likely that the southern nobility would regain their lost possessions, fears were entertained that the

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 55.

monastery might be forced to make restitution of the property which had been assigned to it out of the spoils of the vanquished. St Dominic and his delegates, however, found means of obtaining for the convent confirmation in its possessions from the lords of the soil themselves, especially Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, and Raymond Roger, Count of Foix.¹

However powerful might be the support of princes, he did not consider it sufficient; and having recourse to the authority which alone in the world appeared to him paramount—that of the Holy See—he solicited the Apostolic safeguard; obtaining it first from Innocent III., October 8, 1215, and secondly from Honorius III., March 30, 1218.² These two pontifical deeds regulated for the future the conditions of existence of the monastery, placing it first of all under the patronage of St Peter. “Now,” says M. Paul Fabre, “the aim of the Apostolic patronage is to assure its integrity to the object upon which it is exercised. Two kinds of danger are to be apprehended on behalf of an organisation—the attacks of the outer world, and the diminution of its vital energy. Monasteries under the patronage of the Apostle are secured against this double peril. On the one hand all human powers are forbidden to disturb the monks or to lay hands upon their goods; on the other, free power to choose their head is secured to the monks—the possibility of an escape, that is to say,

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 56.

² Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 2 and 3.

from what might be termed secularisation from within."¹ Such were the advantages which, in the Apostolic patronage, Dominic demanded for his monastery. The nuns were placed under the rule of St Augustine, the prioress being freely elected by her sisters; the convent was at liberty to receive whosoever should wish to make her profession there; to carry on worship, even in time of interdict, and also possessed the right of sepulture. It was safeguarded from any secular tyranny, for all powers were forbidden to claim from it dues or fines, and whosoever should attack its liberties was threatened with excommunication and the divine wrath. It was even protected from any arbitrary exercise of episcopal power, for no one save the Pope could pronounce ecclesiastical sentences upon it; and if the holy oils, the consecration of altars or of churches, had to be solicited from the Ordinary, the convent, in cases where his authority was abused by its own bishop for the purpose of bringing it into subjection, was free to have recourse to another. It must, however, be observed that, though withdrawn from the arbitrary exercise of episcopal authority, the convent was not exempted from the normal jurisdiction of the bishop; Honorius III., on the contrary, expressly stipulating that the power of the Bishop of Toulouse, the Ordinary of the place, should be left intact.² Finally, by these two

¹ P. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine*, p. 73

² "Salva Sedis apostolicæ auctoritate et diocesanî episcopi canonica justitia."

bulls, Innocent III. and Honorius III. guaranteed to the convent free possession of all its goods, present and future, threatening with the gravest penalties those who should attempt to usurp them.

These two bulls obtained, St Dominic might consider that one of the objects he had had in view when he had declined the episcopate had been accomplished. The convent was henceforth to develop freely in the exercise of its pious practices, to reach the number, a century later, of a hundred and forty nuns, and to extend its possessions into the plains of Lauraguais and the hills of Razès.

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER OF PREACHING FRIARS

1206-1216

AT the beginning of their apostolic career, Didacus and Dominic served only as auxiliaries to the Cistercian mission and drew their authority from it; Peter of Castelnau, monk of Fontfroide, and Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, having alone the right to act in the name of the Holy See. So true is this that, in the testimonials given by St Dominic to the new converts, he declared them reconciled to the Church "by the authority of the Abbot of Citeaux." On the most solemn occasions the Spanish missionaries took a secondary place, the Cistercians occupying the higher position. Thus, when it was a question of compelling the King of Aragon to declare himself against the heresy, it was two monks from Fontfroide, Peter of Castelnau and Brother Raoul, who went to seek him; and when Raymond VI. was excommunicated for his connivance with heresy, it was Peter of Castelnau who pronounced the sentence.

Nevertheless, if Didacus and Dominic possessed no official authority, we have seen above how great was the influence exercised by their austerity and zeal; and they soon found themselves surrounded by zealous

men, anxious to preach under their orders. Jordan of Saxony relates how, when in 1206, Didacus returned to Spain, he intrusted the companions left by him in Languedoc to the spiritual guidance of Dominic; and where matters material were concerned, to the care of William Claret. This association of missionaries was of the humblest character, being composed of few persons, "*pauci*"; and after the departure of Didacus Dominic remained almost alone, "*quasi solus*." His resources were so limited that when the Bishop of Osma revisited Spain, it was with the object of collecting the alms which were growing every day more necessary.¹

Having become, by the death of his bishop, the chief of the little flock, Dominic set himself to increase and to organise it. In this undertaking the saint enjoyed the powerful assistance of Foulques, Bishop of Toulouse.

Born at Genoa, and a former monk of the Cistercian abbey of Toronet, Foulques had taken the place of Peter of Rabasteins, deposed from the See of Toulouse on account of the complaisance he had displayed towards heresy; and from the beginning of his episcopate he had testified the most ardent zeal on behalf of the Catholic faith. Hunted out of his cathedral and of Toulouse by the heretics, he is found in the army of the crusaders, assisting Simon de Montfort with his advice and experience; in the councils, inspiring measures as severe as they were efficacious for the repression of heresy; in the various parishes of his diocese, spending himself in

¹ Jordan of Saxony (Echard, *op. cit.* p. 6).

defence of the truth, preaching it personally, arguing with the Waldensian ministers in public conferences, instituting reforms amongst his clergy, and multiplying the centres of the propaganda. Meeting St Dominic at several of the public assemblies, the two apostles understood each other and became united by the tie of a holy friendship. St Dominic placed all his zeal at the service of Foulques, his bishop; and Foulques used all his influence in support of Dominic's benevolent undertakings; by the Church and by history their memories will never be separated.

In presenting the church of our Lady of Prouille to the saint, Foulques had made his contribution to the foundation of the women's convent; in nominating St Dominic to the care of Fanjeaux he guaranteed to the men's Order their first provision. It is difficult to give a precise date to this deed, but it was certainly anterior to May 25, 1214, since on that day Foulques had made over certain revenues to the nuns of Prouille, "with the consent of Brother Dominic, Chaplain of Fanjeaux."¹ The income of this parish, being fairly large, served for the maintenance of the saint and his companions.

" Saint Dominiks se tenoit
Le bénéfice d'une église
Qui au Faniat était assise
Por ses compaignons et por li."²

No less devoted than Foulques to the work of St

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xiii.; *Inst.* p. 247: "de assensu et voluntate fratris Dominici *cappellani de Fanojovis.*"

² *Li Romans Saint Dominike.* Balme, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 451.

Dominic, Simon de Montfort, for his part, made an important donation to "the holy Preaching," about the month of September 1214. Ever since June 28 the crusading forces had been besieging the fortified castle of Casseneuil in Agenais, one of the strongholds of heresy; it was captured and was almost at once presented by Simon de Montfort to St Dominic. It must have been an acquisition by which the income of the mission was sensibly augmented, for in speaking of the beginnings of his Order Jordan of Saxony makes mention, as of the first importance amongst its resources, of the revenues of Casseneuil and of Fanjeaux.

Strengthened by the encouragement lavished upon him by bishops and knights, following the example of Foulques and of Simon de Montfort, St Dominic, little by little, conceived the project of giving greater cohesion to his work. In this he was assisted more particularly by the Bishop of Toulouse. By an enactment of July 1215, Foulques established the infant Order canonically in his diocese, giving it as its mission to struggle perpetually for the extension of orthodoxy, and of good morals, and for the extirpation of heresy and evil customs. "As the labourer is worthy of his hire, and the preacher of the Gospel shall live by the Gospel," he had assigned him at the same time important revenues, abandoning to him in perpetuity the sixth part of all parochial dues. The concession was of such importance that the bishop took care to make mention of the approval which had been bestowed upon this deed by his chapter and clergy. It is even possible that he

himself had not accurately calculated the extent of his liberality, since later on he negotiated the cancelling of it with St Dominic.

Up to this time the Holy Preaching had had no fixed quarters. Like the Saviour, Dominic sent his disciples, two and two, from village to village, he himself, when absent from his presbytery, only lodging at inns, if indeed it was not at the edge of a spring or in a wayside ditch.¹ But in 1215 an event occurred which fixed the destinies, hitherto wandering, of the Preaching. At Toulouse a young man named Peter Seila, belonging to a rich citizen family and whose father had filled the post of provost, had attached himself to St Dominic. Shortly afterwards this friend, placing himself more strictly under his direction, determined to enter the infant Order, and sharing their hitherto undivided patrimony with his brothers, he gave up the portion he received—some landed property and certain other possessions—to St Dominic.²

St Dominic retained a house situated near Chateau-Narbonnais as his own residence, and in the month of April established his Brethren in it. It was thus that the first fixed convent of the Friars Preachers

¹ Inquisition of Toulouse and of Bologna, *pass.* (*Acta SS.*).

² Balme, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 500. It had long been known that the Dominican convent of Toulouse, the first of those of the Friars Preachers, had been founded about 1216. But Father Balme has been enabled to give the exact date of this deed, important as it is to the history of the Order and its founder, having discovered in the National Archives the original instrument of Peter Seila's donation (*cf. Arch. Nat. J.* 321, No 60). He has reproduced it in *facsimile* in his *Cartulaire*.

was founded (April 25, 1215). "They at once began to live in community," says Jordan of Saxony, "to increase more and more in humility and to conform to the practices of the religious life." It was this which gave occasion to Peter Seila, when later on he had become Prior of the convent at Limoges, to say "that he had had the honour of receiving the Order in his house, before he himself had been received into the Order." The Friars Preachers did little more than pass through the house of Chateau-Narbonnais; for the following year, they were installed by Foulques in the church of St Romanus.

This, however, did not satisfy the saint. He had as yet not more than a dozen missionaries grouped around him, but he already found the limits of a diocese too narrow, and dreamt of founding an Order which should extend its operations and its branches over the universal Church. The occasion seemed favourable. By a bull of April 19, 1213, Pope Innocent III. had summoned to the Lateran on November 1st an ecumenical Council, which should deliberate "on the reform of the universal Church, the improvement of morals, the extinction of heresy and the strengthening of the faith."¹ Did not the work of St Dominic correspond to the questions which the Council was to solve? Was not its object to protect morals and faith against heresy; and was it not, on this account, worthy of pontifical approval? St Dominic therefore prepared to make the journey to Rome with his bishop, intrusting the direction of

¹ Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, No 4706. Mansi *Concilia*, xxii. 960.

his new convent to the most austere of his Brethren, Bertrand of Garrigua, "a man of great holiness, of inexorable severity in his dealings with himself, mortifying his flesh with austerity, and bearing stamped upon him the likeness of the blessed father whose labours, vigils, penances, and numerous deeds of virtue he had shared."¹ He must have arrived at Rome before the opening of the Council, for the first public session was not held till November 11; and on October 8, by a bull which had evidently been granted to the solicitations of the saint, Innocent III. had taken the monastery of Prouille under his patronage.

From the beginning of the Council Innocent III. appears to have participated in St Dominic's ideas. Not content with having accorded the Apostolic patronage to the convent of Prouille, he demonstrated to the Lateran assembly the need of giving special attention to preaching and to controversy directed against heresy: "We should be the light of the world; if the light that is in us be changed into darkness, how great is that darkness!" While, through the ignorance and corruption of the clergy, he showed the bishops "religion debased, justice trampled under foot, heresy triumphant and schism insolent." The Council, for its part, entirely adopting the views of the Pope, enacted a very important decree relative to preaching, and the urgent necessity of rendering it more active, more learned, and thus more efficacious. "Amongst all the means of promoting the salvation of Christian

¹ Thierry of Apoldia, *Acta SS.* Aug. 4.

people," said the Fathers of the Council, "it is well known that the bread of the Divine Word is above all things necessary. Now by reason of their various occupations, of physical indisposition, of hostile aggression, not to speak of lack of learning—so grievous and indeed intolerable a defect in a bishop—it often chances that prelates, especially in large dioceses, do not suffice to proclaim the Word of God. For this reason, by this general enactment we direct them to choose men apt to fill with fruitfulness the office of preachers; who, powerful in word and deed, shall solicitously visit, in their stead and when they themselves are hindered from doing so, the people confided to their care, and edify them by word and by example. For these men ample provision shall be made of all they may require, lest, left in need of the indispensable, they may be constrained to abandon their mission when it is scarcely begun."¹ One might imagine this decree to have been directly inspired by the Bishop of Toulouse, since in making the companions of St Dominic missionaries in his diocese he had done beforehand that which was ordered by the Council in its tenth canon.

The Preaching Order, as it was working in Toulouse, corresponded so well with the views of Pope and Council, that it would seem that approval and even encouragement should have been bestowed upon it without difficulty. But whether it was that God desired to put His servant to the proof, or that the Church would not depart in this case from her

¹ Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. par. i. p. 131.

habitual circumspection, matters did not so fall out. "The Pope," says Bernard Guidonis, "made difficulties, because the office of the preacher was one which belonged to the high dignitaries of the Church of God."¹ St Dominic's conception was in fact too bold and too novel not at first to create some alarm. An association of religious, of which several should not be priests, free from any parochial ministry, exempted from the authority of the Ordinary, and devoting themselves solely to preaching in the universal Church, was likely to give rise to the gravest prejudices. Were the secular clergy fallen so low that it was necessary to deprive them of what was perhaps the most important of their duties—the evangelisation of souls? And would not the bishops themselves be robbed of their essential prerogative of doctors and guardians of the faith so soon as foreign missionaries should come to preach the Gospel in their dioceses and to exercise the apostolic office in their stead? Was it, finally, possible to separate the ministry of souls from preaching and to distinguish between the doctor and the pastor?

Besides all this, in those heretical days it was necessary to tighten rather than to relax the bonds of the hierarchy. The Waldenses, the Catharists, the Patarins, had developed a spirit of inquiry, and, under the pretext of personal inspiration, had recognised in simple laymen a right to preach, the Lateran Council finding it necessary to issue a

¹ Bernard Guidonis, *Libellus de magistris Ordinis Prædicatorum*. Cf. Martène et Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*, vol. vi. p. 400.

decree against preachers possessing no warrant: "because," so it ran, "under the guise of piety, but forswearing virtue, there are those who arrogate to themselves the right to preach; although it has been written by the Apostle, "how shall they preach unless they be sent?" Any man to whom this function has been forbidden, or who has not received a mission from episcopal or pontifical authority, exercising it in private or in public, shall be visited with excommunication and other suitable penalties if he does not at once amend."¹

St Dominic finally met with another obstacle. Since the time of Gregory VII. the regular clergy had spread greatly in the Church, and many convents had arisen. It was in that day that there appeared successively the Gilbertins in England, the Carthusians in Dauphiny, the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians and the Trinitarians in France.² This monastic efflorescence had had the drawback of destroying cohesion amongst the

¹ Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. par. i. p. 133, etc.

² St John Gualbert founded the Order of Vallombrosa in 1063, St Stephen the Order of Grandmont in 1073, St Bruno the Order of the Carthusians in 1084, Robert de Molesme the Cistercian Order in 1099, Robert of Arbrissel the Order of Fontevault in 1106; William of Champeaux established, about the same time, the congregation of the regular Canons of St Victor, St Norbert the Order of the Premonstratensians in 1120, St Gilbert that of Sempringham in England in 1140; Viard, monk of the Carthusian monastery of Loaigny, that of the Val des Choux in 1180; St John of Matha and St Felix of Valois that of the Trinity for the redemption of captives in 1198. Lastly, in 1208, Innocent III. reorganised the Order of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, and confirmed in 1209 the Rule given to Carmelites by Albert of Verceil, Patriarch of Jerusalem.

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regular clergy; one religious after another dreaming in his cell of forsaking his own Rule in order to create a fresh one, and anarchy and want of discipline within the monasteries being the result. The evil had already become serious under Innocent III., who nevertheless confirmed the creation of two new Orders, the Order of the Trinitarians of St John of Matha in 1198, and the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost in 1208.

The Lateran ecumenical Council was desirous of remedying this abuse, and it enacted a strong decree directed against the excessive multiplication of religious families: "For fear lest an exaggerated diversity of religious Rules should produce grievous confusion in the Church, we forbid that anyone whosoever shall henceforth introduce any fresh ones. He who desires to embrace the religious life may adopt one of the Rules which have already been approved. In the same way, whosoever shall wish to found a new monastic house shall make use of the Rule and the institutions of one of the recognised Orders."¹

And while the Council was thus endeavouring to put a stop to the creation of new Orders, St Dominic was proposing one to the Pope and to the bishops! Notwithstanding his repeated entreaties and those of Foulques, his request was not granted. Later on pious legends arose in the Order, according to which Innocent III. had been moved to take a more

¹ Wise decree, in which the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is apparent and which might be found as applicable to our age as to the thirteenth century!

favourable view by heavenly warnings: "One night," says Constantine of Orvieto, "the sovereign Pontiff sees in his sleep a divine vision in which the Lateran Church is rent and shattered. Trembling, and saddened by this spectacle, Innocent sees Dominic hasten up and endeavour, by placing himself against it, to support the edifice and prevent it from falling. The prudent and wise Pontiff is at first amazed by this marvel; but he quickly grasps its significance and without further delay praises the scheme of the man of God and graciously grants his request. He exhorts him to go back to his Brethren, and after deliberation to select a Rule already approved. Upon this basis they will be able to establish the Order they wish to promote, and St Dominic, returning then to the Pope, will certainly obtain the confirmation he desires."¹ Half a century later, the Dominican historian, Bernard Guidonis, was still echoing this pious tradition.²

Whatever may be thought of the story, the Lateran Council came to an end during the last days of 1215, and Innocent III. died on July 17, 1216, before the Order of the Preaching Friars had received confirmation, St Dominic coming back from Rome at the beginning of 1216 and bringing nothing with him but the privileges of October 8 in favour of Prouille. Now this document had only a secondary interest; it was addressed neither to the Order as a whole,

¹ *Acta SS.*, August 4th.

² Bernard Guidonis, *op. cit.*, *loco cit.* The legend of St Francis relates the same fact with regard to the establishment of the Order of the Minorites.

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nor to the Preaching Friars established as diocesan missionaries at Toulouse, but "to the Prior, the Brethren and the nuns of the monastery of Prouille"; it only related to this particular convent and its goods and could not be interpreted as a recognition and still less as a confirmation of the new Order.

It was during this second sojourn at Rome, at the time of the Lateran Council, that St Dominic formed his friendship with St Francis. While the Canon of Osma was soliciting the apostolical approval for his Preaching Friars, as learned as they were bold—for those "hounds of the Lord,"¹ whom he wished to send forth against the wolves of heresy, the seraphic of Assisi was doing the same thing on behalf of his mystical companions—those contemplatives who embraced the whole creation in a single love and, by means of their naïve and touching effusions, were to make so many converts among simple people. One night, when praying according to his custom in the basilica of St Peter, St Dominic had a vision which Gerard de Frachet relates in these words: "He seemed to perceive the Lord Jesus in the air, brandishing three lances against the world. Immediately the Virgin Mary throws herself at His Feet, conjuring Him to show mercy upon those whom He has purchased, and thus to temper justice with pity. Her Son replies, 'Seest thou not the outrages they lavish upon Me? My justice cannot leave unpunished such great evils!' And His mother

¹ Thus they soon came to name the Preaching Friars, playing upon the words *Dominicani* (Dominicans) and *Domini canes* (hounds of the Lord).

answers: 'Thou art not ignorant, my Son—Thou to Whom all is known—that here is a means of recalling them to Thyself. I have a faithful servant, send him to proclaim Thy Word to them, and they will be converted and will seek after Thee, the Saviour of all. For his assistance I will give him another of my servants who will work in a like way.' The Son says to His Mother: 'I have heard thy prayer. Show me those whom thou hast destined to such an office.' And she straightway presents to him the Blessed Dominic. 'He will perform well,' says the Saviour, 'and zealously that which thou hast said.' Mary then offers to Him the Blessed Francis, and the Saviour commends him after the same manner. At this moment Dominic looks with attention at his companion, with whom hitherto he was not acquainted; and on the morrow, finding in a church him whom he has seen in the night, he hastens towards him and pressing him in his arms: "Thou shalt be my comrade; thou shalt be with me. Let us remain together and no enemy shall prevail over us." Then he confides to him the vision that he has had; and thenceforth they were but one heart and one soul in Christ; directing their children to observe the same for ever." A touching story, admirably symbolising the parallel destinies of these two great Orders and their common devotion to the Mother of God!

"The kiss of St Dominic and St Francis has been transmitted from generation to generation by the lips of their posterity," says Lacordaire in one

of his beautiful passages. "The friendship of youth still unites the Preaching Friars to the Minorites . . . they have gone to God by the same paths, as two precious perfumes gently reach the same spot in the heavens. Each year, when the feast of St Dominic comes round, carriages leave the monastery of Santa Maria-sulla-Minerva where dwells the general of the Dominican Order, to go to the convent of Ara-Cœli, there to visit the Franciscan general. Accompanied by a great number of his brethren, he comes. Dominicans and Franciscans, in parallel lines, repair to the high Altar of the Minerva, and, after exchanging salutations, the first turn to the choir, while the second remain at the altar, there to celebrate the office of their father's friend. Seated afterwards at the same table, together they break the bread which has never, for six centuries, been lacking to them; and, the repast at an end, the Minorite precentors, with the precentors of the Preaching Friars, sing this anthem in the middle of the refectory: 'The seraphic Francis and the apostolic Dominic have taught us Thy law, O Lord.' The same ceremony is repeated at the convent of Ara-Cœli on the feast of St Francis; and something of the same kind takes place all over the world, wherever a Dominican and a Franciscan convent have been built near enough to allow of their inhabitants giving visible expression to the pious hereditary love by which they are united."¹

¹ Lacordaire, *Vie de Saint Dominique*, p. 133. There will, of course, be found, in ecclesiastical history, instances where the

Returned to Languedoc, St Dominic, far from abandoning himself to despondency, set to work anew to solicit the approbation which had just been refused him. Whether acting upon advice given him by Innocent III. himself, according to Constantine of Orvieto's pious tale, or whether from his own comprehension of the necessity of removing the chief obstacle which he had encountered, he laboured to bring his projects into harmony with the desires of the Council. No sooner had he arrived at Toulouse than he called a meeting of all his associates at Prouille. Sixteen brothers, according to Humbert, responded to this summons, of whom Bernard Guidonis, more explicit, supplies the names. They consisted of Peter Seila and Thomas of Toulouse, Matthew of France, the Provençal Bertrand de Garrigua, John of Navarre, Laurence of England, Stephen of Metz, Oderic of Normandy, lay-brother William Claret of Pamiers; and lastly six Spaniards, Michael of Fabra, Manès, half-brother of St Dominic, Dominic the less, Peter of Madrid, and Michael of Uzéro. To this list Father Balme rightly adds the names of Noël, Prior of Prouille, and of William Raymond of Toulouse. Thus these first sessions of the Order included only seventeen religious; it was still nothing but a little flock, but, full of confidence in its mission and in its leader, it was thenceforth to develop as rapidly as widely.

emulation of these two great twin Orders reached the point of rivalry; but their history, taken as a whole, justifies the fine description given by Lacordaire of their brotherly union.

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In order to bring itself into harmony with the decisions of the Lateran Council and to take shelter under an ancient Order, the meeting adopted the Rule of St Augustine.¹ What was the reason that prompted them to make that choice? It must be observed, first of all, that in his capacity of Canon Regular of Osma, Dominic himself belonged to the Augustinian Order, and it was therefore natural that the Preaching Friars should have placed themselves under the religious discipline to which their master already belonged. But what commended it to them above all, was the fact that it possessed great elasticity, dealing in general directions rather than in strict regulations. "It was necessary," says Humbert de Romans, "to select a Rule which would contain nothing antagonistic to that which it was desired to establish; now, it is characteristic of the Rule of St Augustine that it contains nothing but spiritual precepts." "Augustine," says Stephen of Salagnac, "has so constituted his Rule that it is never carried to extremes. His precepts are neither numerous, nor insufficient, nor obscure. There is never any necessity to have recourse to the sovereign Pontiff for their modification."² The precepts of this Rule were of so general a kind that they were capable of adaptation to the most varied monastic institutions, to Canons Regular, to Premonstratensians, and to hermits. Any special regulations which were thought necessary could be inserted in it. "The new Order

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 23.

² Humbert de Romanis and Stephen of Salagnac, quoted by Balme, *loc. cit.*

required peculiar statutes, dealing with study, preaching and poverty"; and under the Augustinian Rule, they were easily added. Thus the affiliation to the Order of St Augustine was in reality merely an indirect means of founding a new Order, while conforming at the same time to the precepts laid down by the Council; and in the arrangement it is easy to recognise the eminently practical spirit of the saint.

The meeting at Prouille over, pressure could again be brought to bear upon the Roman court. In August 1216, Dominic for the third time repaired to the Pope: but as the bull of confirmation was not issued for several months, it is to be concluded that the affair underwent further delays; whether in order that the Curia might examine into the constitutions with its habitual prudence, or that criticisms made by it might be dealt with.

At last, in a bull dated from the Vatican, Dec. 22, 1216, and addressed to "Dominic, Prior of Saint Romanus of Toulouse and to his Brethren, of the present and of the future, having made profession of the Regular life," Honorius III. took for ever under St Peter's patronage the House of St Romanus, with all its goods, confirming at the same time the choice made by the Preaching Friars of the Rule of St Augustine. Issued according to the most solemn formulas, and to continue valid for ever, this license was signed by the Pope, together with all the cardinals resident at Rome. "At the same time," observes with reason Father Balme, "there is no question in this important

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document either of the objects of St Dominic in founding this institution, nor of the name he desires to give it and which will express that which he intends to be its work—an Order of Preaching Friars. . . . Honorius III. gives his explicit approval only to the Canonical Order recently formed, according to the Rule of St Augustine, in the church of St Romanus of Toulouse.”¹ And in fact this instrument in no way differs from those that the Holy See was accustomed to grant to the special monasteries which successively solicited its patronage. Lacordaire, in his life of St Dominic, attributes the lack of explicitness belonging to this document to the opposition of several members of the Curia: “It seems to us probable that there was some opposition at the papal court to the establishment of an apostolic Order, and that to this cause was due the total silence of the principal bull as to the aim of the new Order it authorised.”²

It seems that the reason of this silence should rather be sought elsewhere. It was possibly the first time that the recognition, not of a particular convent, but of an Order, had been solicited. There had doubtless existed before the time of St Dominic, and for centuries, the two great rules of St Benedict and of St Augustine; but if there had been monasteries following the observances of the one or of the other, there had never been, to speak the truth, a Benedictine or an Augustinian Order, if by the term is meant collections of monasteries grouped

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 70, etc.

² Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 158.

together not only under obedience to the same Rule, but above all under the authority of a single supreme head. Even the observances, already sufficiently centralised, of Cluny and of Citeaux appear far more like federations of autonomous Houses than like Orders. The Holy See had been asked to give confirmation to each separate convent; to no one had it occurred to demand a general license for a collection of monasteries forming an indivisible whole.

St Dominic, on the contrary, had asked the confirmation of the Holy See, not only for his House of St Romanus, but also for the entire Order of which it was the head-quarters. This was a great novelty, and it is possible that the papal chancery had found it embarrassing, lacking amongst its formularies any terms suitable for so unprecedented a document. It therefore made use of the ancient formula, applicable to a special convent, addressing it to the convent of St Romanus; but on the morrow itself, to do away with all ambiguity, the Pope, in a personal deed drawn up without the help of formularies, assured the saint of his patronage for himself and his associates, "champions of the faith, and true lights of the Church," for their goods, and finally for *the whole Order*. Far from containing any contradiction to the first, this second bull added its exact definition, by showing that the Holy See meant to extend its patronage not only to an isolated convent, but to an Order.¹

Two papal documents soon brought fresh en-

¹ We offer this explanation as a simple hypothesis.

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couragement to St Dominic and his Brethren. On January 21, 1217, Honorius III. congratulated "those invincible athletes of Christ, armed with the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation," on the courage with which they brandished against the enemy that weapon sharper than any two-edged sword, "the Word of God"; enjoining them to persevere in works so salutary, and to continue ever "to preach the Divine Word in season and out of season, in spite of all hindrances and of every tribulation." On February 7th, calling to mind a clause already contained in the great bull of December 1216, he forbade that any should leave the Order without the permission of the prior, unless it were through the desire to embrace a severer Rule.¹

Dominic spent the whole of Lent, 1217, at Rome, preaching in several churches, and, if a tradition belonging to a sufficiently early period is to be believed, before the Pope himself and the papal court. A chronicler of the fourteenth century, Galvano Fiamma, is the first to relate it, in the following language: "Saint Dominic came to Rome, and that year in the Apostolic palace was the interpreter of the Epistles of St Paul; for which cause he was given the title of the Master of the Sacred Palace, which passed to his successors in that post; for Dominic was learned in philosophy and in theology." This tradition has continued in the Order; but without wishing to invalidate it, we must point out that no traces of the fact are to be found in the most ancient

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 89.

monuments of the Preaching Order, the writings of Jordan of Saxony and of Humbert.¹

An older tradition, since it is related in 1240 by Humbert and is found again, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, in the writings of Thierry of Apoldia, Constantine of Orvieto, and Stephen of Salagnac, places in this year of 1217 the symbolical vision experienced by the saint in the basilica of the Vatican: "One night when St Dominic was praying in the presence of the Lord in St Peter's Church, for the preservation and extension of the Order, the hand of the Most High was laid upon him. All at once, in a vision, there appeared to him the glorious princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, who advanced towards him. Peter gave him a staff and Paul a book, and they said to him: 'Go thou and preach, since God has chosen thee for this ministry.' And at the same time he saw his disciples spread themselves, two and two, over the world, in order to evangelise it."²

During this sojourn at Rome St Dominic lived in the greatest intimacy with Ugolino, Cardinal-

¹ In our own day the Master of the Sacred Palace is still always a religious of the Order of the Friars Preachers. "He occupies the position of the Pope's theologian. The sermons, the yearly discourses, the funeral orations on Catholic princes, delivered in the papal chapel are submitted beforehand to him. He has special jurisdiction over the printing, the production and the sale of books and printed matter at Rome; every book printed at Rome must receive his *imprimatur*. He is by right counsellor of the Congregations of the Inquisition, the Index, the Rites, etc." Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. xli. p. 200.

² *Acta SS.* August 4.—Bolognese Documents.

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Bishop of Ostia, who, become one of the great Popes of the Church under the name of Gregory IX., was afterwards to canonise him. "Sixteen years ago," said Brother William of Montferrat in his deposition during the canonisation inquiry of 1233,¹ the present Pope, then Bishop of Ostia, offered me his hospitality. In those days Brother Dominic, who was at the Curia, frequently visited the Lord Bishop. This gave me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with him; his society gave me pleasure, and I began to love him. Very often we used to talk together of things concerning our salvation and that of our neighbours."

At the Cardinal's house Dominic met St Francis, and thus was strengthened the friendship by which the two saints were already united. A disciple of St Francis, Thomas of Celano, has given an account of one of the pious conversations which took place between them and Cardinal Ugolino: "One day," he relates, "the two great lights of the universe, Dominic and Francis, were with the Lord of Ostia, conversing together upon matters divine. All of a sudden, the bishop gives utterance to this reflection: 'In the primitive Church, the pastors were poor, and devoted themselves to the service of souls, not from cupidity but from love. Why do we not make your Brothers into prelates and pontiffs? In doctrine and in example they would surpass the rest.' Thereupon a veritable struggle ensues between the two saints. Each presses and exhorts the other to make reply; for each would put

¹ *Acta SS.* August 4.—Bolognese Documents.

the other first. At last humility triumphs in Francis, preventing him from making a beginning; while, equally triumphant in Dominic, he obeys through modesty, saying to the bishop: 'Lord, if they well understand it, my Brethren must esteem themselves well placed. Never, so far as in me lies, will I suffer them to accept the least of ecclesiastical dignities.' In his turn the Blessed Francis, bowing before the bishop, says to him: 'Lord, my Brethren are called Minorites in order that they may never endeavour to become greater (Majors), for their vocation instructs them to remain *in plano*, and to follow in the steps of Christ's humility; so that afterwards, in the assembly of the saints, they may be exalted before all others. If you desire that they should produce abundance of fruit in the Church of God, keep them in the state to which they have been called, and in case of necessity recall them, in spite of themselves, to humility. Father, I beseech you, lest through their poverty itself they should become proud, never permit that they should be raised to any prelacy.' These answers being made, the Lord of Ostia, having received much edification by hearing them, rendered to God great thanks." The account of this conversation has been given entire, because in it is displayed the virtue, the simplicity and the zeal of these three great Christians, St Dominic, St Francis and Gregory IX., who, united by a holy friendship, laboured so well, each in his own fashion, for the exaltation of God and of the Church in the first half of the thirteenth century!

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Dominic left Rome after the Easter festival, 1217, and is found a month later in Languedoc affixing his signature to a deed of arbitration in favour of Prouille. After crossing the Alps by the Pass of Mont Genève and the Rhone by the Pont St Esprit; after having seen, at Agde, Bishop Theodisus; at Narbonne, Archbishop Arnold Amalric, to whom he was the bearer of a pontifical letter; and at Carcassonne, Simon de Montfort; St Dominic once more summoned his monks to meet at Prouille. This fresh assembly was held on August 15, 1217, and was of even greater importance than the one of the previous year. It was no longer a question of learning under which rule they were to live, but of the direction which should be given to the Order now definitely founded.

In spite of the zeal he had displayed during the ten years of missionary effort, St Dominic had not obtained the results for which he had hoped in the county of Toulouse. Sermons, the crusade and measures of severity notwithstanding, heresy was still formidable, and further, crushed for a moment in 1213, by the battle of Muret, it had again, since 1215, taken the offensive.

The Lateran Council had excepted from confiscation the personal property of the countess, wife of Raymond VI. and sister of the King of Aragon, because "public report bore witness to her virtue and the purity of her faith."¹ While confirming the crusaders in the possession of those lands which

¹ Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. par. i. p. 233, quoting Peter de Vaux Cernay, *op. cit.* 83.

were in their hands, the Council forbade the conquest of any others, placing in sequestration a portion of the county of Toulouse, in order to restore it later on to the son of Raymond VI. should he renounce his father's errors.

Inspired as they were by a wise moderation, these decisions had been interpreted by the Albigenses either as a disavowal by the Catholic Church of the crusade and of Simon de Montfort, or as an act of weakness; and a large part of the south of France had straightway risen in arms.

Avignon, Saint-Gilles, Beaucaire, Tarascon had driven out the invaders; Marseilles had been in revolt against its bishop, and in the middle of a solemn procession the inhabitants had trampled the crucifix and even the Blessed Sacrament under foot. From Provence the insurrection had reached the Cevennes, and leaving behind him the city of Toulouse in a state of the greatest excitement, Simon had been compelled to carry the war into the neighbourhood of Viviers.¹ The Holy See having been moved by these tidings, Honorius III., since the month of January 1217, had been taking measures to revive faith in Languedoc, and it had been thither that he had despatched to the Friars Preachers, in his bull of January 21, 1217, his exhortations and congratulations. He was, besides, appealing to fresh missionaries, and on January 19 he was inducing the University of Paris to send several doctors into the province of Toulouse, there to keep up controversies with the heretics. Lastly,

¹ For all these facts, cf. *History of Languedoc*, vol. vi., etc.

by a bull bearing the same date, he sent the Cardinal of SS. John and Paul as legate to the provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, Vienne, Narbonne, Auch, and to the dioceses of Mende, Clermont, Limoges, Rodez, Alby, Cahors, Perigueux and Agen, charging him to restore peace to these countries, ravaged afresh by the heretics.¹

The legate had his first interview with Simon de Montfort on the banks of the Rhone, near Viviers, the heretics pressing so close upon the crusaders that, having recognised the cardinal amongst Simon's troops, they sent several shafts from the cross-bow in his direction, killing one of his men. While Montfort was thus detained on the banks of the Rhone, the people of Toulouse rose in revolt, and on September 1, 1217, Raymond VI. re-entered the capital of his state, Bishop Foulques was compelled to leave it and, on October 1, the siege was begun by Simon de Montfort. It was during this recrudescence of the heretical forces, and at the moment that all boded ill for the crusaders, that Dominic presided over the second assembly at Prouille, which had opened August 13, barely a fortnight before the restoration of Raymond VI.

It is not difficult to understand how it was that under these circumstances Dominic gave way to a feeling of despondency, destined, for the rest, to result in the greatest glory of his Order. It seemed to him that the work of the preachers had been a failure in Languedoc, since after ten years a fresh triumph of Albigensianism had taken place, and from the

¹ Potthast, *op. cit.* Nos. 5424 and 5437.

time of his arrival he had been able to gather around him no more than seventeen men of good will. Like St Bernard, he despaired of this country and cursed it. Addressing a mournful discourse to those who filled the church at Prouille, he finished with these severe words: "For many years I have exhorted you in vain, with gentleness, preaching, praying and weeping. But, according to the proverb of my own country, 'where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail.' We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land, and many will perish by the sword, the country will be laid waste, the walls thrown down, and you—oh grief—you will be reduced to servitude; and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless."¹ After thus taking leave of Languedoc, he received anew the vows of obedience of the Brethren, making known to them the great schemes which he had conceived for the furtherance of the Order. Since they were rejected by Toulouse, the whole world was to be their field of action. Using the words of the Saviour Himself: "Go," he bade them, "into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Ye are still but a little flock; but already I have formed in my heart the project of dispersing you abroad; you will no longer live altogether in this house." "He knew," adds Humbert de Romans, "that all seed scattered abroad becomes fruitful—that heaped together it grows corrupt."

Before dispersing his Friars, however, Dominic

¹ Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 171.

desired to tighten the bonds by which they were united. He requested them to select a head, and they named Matthew of France, one of their number, abbot. The question may be asked why he had this election made, since he himself remained the uncontested master of the Order he had just founded. Was it with the object of supplying himself with a coadjutor and facilitating, in case of his death, that transmission of authority which is so necessary to the beginnings of any institution? Constantine of Orvieto attributes the decision to another cause: "His intention," he says, "was to secure, at a convenient season, the realisation of a scheme which he never ceased to nourish in his heart—the evangelisation of infidel nations."¹ Like St Francis, when he had gone to preach to the Egyptian Sultan, St Dominic had long been desirous of visiting barbarous peoples—he had said so to William of Montferrat, at the house of Cardinal Ugolino,² and had besides, on leaving Osma, been anxious to accompany his bishop, Didacus, to the country of the Tartar-Cumans. In the meantime, however, he did not resign the supreme power, since he reserved to himself the right of reprimand, over even the Abbot General who had been just elected by the Friars Preachers; remaining, in reality, the true and only head of the Order.

He proceeded, next, to disperse his monks. The account of the scene in the Dominican chronicles cannot be read without emotion. Around Dominic are only seventeen comrades, laboriously recruited

¹ *Acta SS.*, August 4.

² *Ibidem.*—Bolognese Documents.

during ten years of apostolic work; any other man might have despaired when he compared the greatness of the effort with the smallness of the results; the immensity of the new aim which was to be pursued with the feebleness of the means of pursuing it; but Dominic never hesitates. Solemnly he makes division of the world amongst his associates. Four of them, Peter of Madrid, Michael of Uzéro, Dominic of Segovia, Suéro of Gomez, are to go back to Spain; a more important group, consisting of Manés, the saint's own brother, Michael of Fabra, Bertrand of Garrigua, Laurence of England, John of Navarre and the lay brother Oderic, are to go to Paris, led by the abbot, Matthew of France; Peter Seila and Thomas are to remain at St Romanus of Toulouse; Noël and William Claret will keep the direction of the Sisters of Prouille; lastly, Dominic himself chooses for his dwelling-place and for the head-quarters of the Order the centre of Catholic unity itself, Rome, taking there with him Stephen of Metz.

The scheme, once elaborated, had to be put into execution, and in this the saint was assisted first of all by the arrival of several fresh recruits. Shortly after the meeting of Prouille, in the autumn of 1217, four new professions were made, including those of Arnold of Toulouse, Romeo of Llivia (who was to become a saint), Pons of Samatan, and lastly Raymond, of the illustrious house of the Counts of Miramont, who, thirteen years later, was to succeed Foulques in the episcopal See of Toulouse. It was possibly for the training of these novices

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that Dominic still remained some months in Languedoc.

He profited by the time to make his final arrangements. On December 13, while Simon de Montfort was still carrying on the siege of Toulouse, he obtained from him a fresh safeguard for all Dominican property within the jurisdiction of the seneschals of Carcassonne and of Agen. He came to an amicable arrangement with Foulques respecting the differences which had arisen between them with regard to the parochial dues which the bishop desired to withdraw from the Friars Preachers (September 13, 1217); and finally he solicited from the Holy See fresh tokens of patronage. In spreading themselves over Spain, France and Italy, the monks would find themselves much isolated; in creating their convents, they would have to reckon with Ordinaries and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and possibly to fear their ill-will. St Dominic obtained for them papal letters of recommendation. On February 11, 1218,¹ Honorius III. addressed to all archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, a bull requesting their favour "on behalf of the Order of Friars Preachers, and begging them to assist them in their needs," and to forward in every way "the most useful ministry" undertaken by them. Lastly, the Pope assured to St Dominic and to his Order a permanent habitation at Rome, by assigning to them, on the Appian Way, the ancient church of St Sixtus, together with the convent attached to it.

Thenceforth the organisation of the Order, with

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156.

its centre at Rome and its provincial divisions, was accomplished; it only remained for it to multiply its monasteries and to expand. It was, in fact, ceasing to be a special congregation belonging to the diocese of Toulouse and had become a universal Order. Thus, in the month of December 1217, Dominic quitted these plains of Lauraguais which had been the theatre of his apostolate; the hill of Fanjeaux where his ministry had so long been exercised; the convent of Prouille where he had gathered together his first community; the cloister of St Romanus which had been the cradle of his Order; and went to Rome to take the general direction of the Friars who were spread over the world.

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CHAPTER V

ST DOMINIC, MASTER GENERAL OF THE ORDER

LEGEND has given itself free rein on the subject of this new journey of St. Dominic to Rome. Many convents have claimed the honour of having been founded by the saint in person, and with this end have ascribed to him journeys as fantastic as they are imaginary. According to Malvenda, he established a convent at Venice, dedicating there a chapel to our Lady of the Rosary; going thence to Padua and even to Spalato in Dalmatia. According to Jean de Réchac it was by Switzerland and the Tyrol that he went from Toulouse to Rome. The Bollandists had no difficulty in proving the legendary character of these stories.¹ The truth is that after crossing the Alps, St. Dominic stopped at Milan, where he was received by the Canons Regular of San Nazzario; going from thence, attracted by its University, to Bologna; while by the last days of January 1218 he had reached Rome, accompanied by five monks: his old comrade Stephen of Metz and four new recruits, Brothers Otho, Henry, Albert and Gregory.

Coming to establish the Order of Friars Preachers in the Eternal City, he gave himself up more than

¹ *Acta SS.* August 4.

ever to the work of preaching. "He exercised with fervour, devotion and humility the office for which he had been chosen by God and to which the Holy See had appointed him, and this upon the chief theatre of apostolic authority. Divine grace was on his lips, and by his mouth the Lord spake. People were eager to hear him."¹ Thierry of Apoldia makes mention of the sermons given by him in the church of St Mark at the foot of the Capitol.²

He performed at the same time the most laborious works of mercy, attracted, above all, by prisoners, as was later on St Vincent de Paul. "Almost every day he made the round of the town in order to visit the captives,³ lavishing upon them the word of salvation." It was not long before the people were touched by his apostolic zeal and charity; he was venerated as a saint and relics were made out of his possessions; "they cut off surreptitiously pieces from his cloak, until it scarcely reached his knees."⁴ Cardinals heaped upon him signs of respect, and the Pope himself on one occasion desired to bring to the knowledge of all, by means of a solemn letter, a miracle publicly attributed to the saint.⁵

Honorius III. was not long in bestowing on St Dominic and his order fresh signs of confidence and

¹ *Acta SS.*, vol. i. Aug., p. 574.

² *Ibidem.*

³ According to some manuscripts it was rather a question of recluses. Lacordaire has adopted this reading, in his *Life of St Dominic*, p. 191.

⁴ Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 186.

⁵ He gave up his intention in consequence of St Dominic's humble opposition.

favour. The feudal wars by which Rome had been wasted under Gregory VII., Gelasius II., Lucius II. and Alexander III., in the time of Robert Guiscard, of Frangipani and of Arnold of Brescia, had brought especial ruin upon the quarters lying between the Palatine and the gate of St Sebastian, where the solitary districts so characteristic of those parts of Rome, already stretched. The old titular church of St Sixtus stood, melancholy and forsaken, by the side of the tombs which marked the outline of the Appian Way. Innocent III. had already considered the question of restoring its ancient glory to this sanctuary; it had been made over by him to the congregation recently founded in England by St Gilbert, with the obligation of keeping four monks there to serve the church and to undertake the spiritual charge of the convent of women which he wished to found. Now, six years later, in 1218, the Gilbertines not having yet taken possession of the church, Honorius III. revoked the deed of his predecessor and summoned St Dominic and his associates to St Sixtus.¹

Some delay occurred in their installation, the church and the conventual house adjoining it standing in need of restoration; whilst it was also necessary to take measures to oppose the applications addressed to the Holy See by the monks of St Gilbert that the gift which had been made to them might be confirmed. In spite of all these hindrances, however, a papal bull, dated December 3, 1218, definitely took the church of St Sixtus away from

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 159.

the English monks to bestow it upon the Preaching Friars;¹ and St Dominic and his brethren immediately quitted their original lodging, to found upon the Appian Way, in the solitude and retirement of the ruins, their first Roman monastery.

Its beginnings were no less modest than those of Prouille and of St Romanus: "When the Brethren were at St Sixtus," relates Constantine of Orvieto,² "the Order being still unknown in the town, they often had to suffer from hunger. On a certain day it even chanced that the procurator Giacomo del Mielo had no bread wherewith to serve the community. In the morning several friars had been sent out to beg, but after having knocked in vain at many doors they had returned to the convent, almost empty-handed. The hour for the meal approaching, the procurator presents himself to the servant of God and unfolds to him the case. Dominic, trembling with joy, blesses the Lord with transport, and as if penetrated by a confidence which came from on high, commands that the little bread which has been brought shall be shared amongst the friars. Now there were in the convent about forty persons. The signal being given, the friars come to the refectory and in joyous accents recite the prayers of the grace. Whilst each one, seated in order, breaks with gladness the mouthful of bread which has been placed before him, two young men of similar aspect enter the refectory; from their necks

¹ Balme, *op. cit.*

² This translation is borrowed from Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 163.

are hung white cloths filled with bread sent by the celestial Breadmaker, alone capable of manufacturing the like. In silence the two messengers place the loaves at the high extremity of the table, in front of the place occupied by the Blessed Dominic, disappearing without anyone having attained to the knowledge of whence they came and whither they are gone. As soon as they are departed Dominic, stretching out his hand, bids them, 'Eat now, my brothers.'

The Preaching Friars once in possession of St Sixtus, Honorius III., taking up again his predecessor's scheme, began to think of founding a convent of women there. The Roman convents had fallen into decay; the cloister was no longer observed; the contemplative life seemed on the decline, and women who desired to practise it in its severity had themselves immured in little cells constructed specially for them and lived there as recluses. It had become an urgent matter to restore its primitive holiness to conventual life. As the monks of St Gilbert took charge of cloistered nuns affiliated to their Order, Innocent III., in making them the gift of St Sixtus, had asked that they should collaborate in his work of reform. In their default, Honorius III. addressed himself to St Dominic, the saint having founded a convent at Prouille already noted for the strictness of its observances. It was therefore decided that nuns should be brought from Prouille to St Sixtus; that others desirous of quitting the Roman convents in order to adopt a contemplative life of greater severity

should be added to their number; and that this model convent should be under the direction, in spiritual and temporal matters, of St Dominic and his friars. Later on, it was intended to send nuns from St Sixtus into the various convents at Rome, in order that monastic reform might win admiration and acceptance.

To accomplish this work, as important as it was delicate, St Dominic requested the concurrence of persons carrying authority by reason of their virtue and of their high position at the pontifical court; Honorius III. giving him as associates Stephen Orsini, cardinal of Fossanova, of the titular church of the Holy Apostles, the cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and lastly Ugolino, cardinal of Ostia, all devoted friends of St Dominic. "Provided with the apostolic commission," relates one of the first nuns of St Sixtus,¹ "Dominic in the first place addresses himself with confidence to all the nuns of Rome; but they refuse to obey the orders of the saint and of the Pope. At the convent of Santa Maria del Trastevere, however,² containing the greatest number of all, the saint is better received. At the head of this house is the venerable Sister Eugenia: the abbess and her daughters allow

¹ Narrative of Sister Cecilia, one of the nuns transferred from Santa Maria del Trastevere to St Sixtus.

² This church and convent must not be confounded with the ancient titular church of Santa Maria del Trastevere and the fine basilica of that name. It is a question here of a church called Santa Maria in Torre in Trastevere, which is still in existence, not far from the shore of the Tiber and near the titular church of St Cecilia.

themselves to be won over by the pious exhortations of the saint, and all, with one exception, promise to enter St Sixtus, on the sole condition that their image of the Virgin shall go with them; and that if she returns to her own church beyond the Tiber, as had once happened, they may be by that fact released from their engagement.¹ The saint willingly accepts that condition; the sisters make their profession anew in his hands; and the blessed father tells them that it is not his will that henceforth they shall leave the convent to visit their kin. Hearing this, the latter hasten to the monastery, addressing lively reproaches to the abbess and her associates for working the destruction of an illustrious house and placing themselves in the hands of a ribald person. Dominic is supernaturally acquainted with this hindrance; one morning he comes to the convent of Santa Maria, celebrates Mass, and preaching to the sisters, says: 'My daughters, you are already regretting your determination, and are thinking of withdrawing your feet from the Lord's path. I desire therefore that those who, of their free will, have decided to enter, should make their profession

¹ It was one of those old Byzantine Madonnas, ascribed by legend to St Luke, which are still in the present day so highly venerated by the Romans. It was transferred in procession to St Sixtus, but by night, for fear of the dwellers in the Trastevere, who would not have allowed the translation to take place. It remained at St Sixtus until, under the pontificate of Pius V., it was transferred with the nuns of the convent to the church of SS. Dominic and Sixtus, near the Trajan column, where it is still, at this very time, venerated.

anew in my hands.' Some amongst them had in truth repented of their sacrifice, but, coming to a better mind, they renew all their vows. When this has been done the saint takes the keys of the convent, and assumes full authority over everything; he establishes there lay brothers who will have charge of it day and night, and will furnish the sisters in their cloister with all that they need; while he forbids the latter to speak without witnesses either to their own relations or to any other person."¹

The example of the Sisters of the Trastevere spread, and there was soon in every Roman monastery a reforming party determined to follow to the end the advice of the Friars Preachers. When the buildings at St Sixtus² were ready for habitation the nuns from the Trastevere, many from Santa Bibiana, and also from other convents, and some high-born ladies took possession, to the number of forty-four, on the first Sunday in Lent 1220. St Dominic placed them under the direction of one of his brothers, and for prioress gave them a sister from Prouille. The reforms desired by Innocent III. and Honorius III. were now accomplished, and the Dominican Order owned a second convent.

The sanctity of Dominic produced meanwhile more and more religious vocations. Young people of every sort and condition wished to enter the new Order

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* 410; Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 190.

² It was during this work that St Dominic restored to life Napoleon Orsini, the nephew of the Cardinal of Fossanova.

of Friars Preachers ; indeed, says Thierry of Apoldia, several families became alarmed at the powerful attraction the house of St Sixtus exercised over the minds of their children. "One day," he says,¹ "Dominic, that servant of Christ, had admitted one Henry, a handsome German youth of noble birth and still more noble conduct and manners. His angry relatives sought a means of wresting him from the Order. Hearing of this, the blessed father prudently provided the young man with companions to escort him elsewhere. Brother Henry had crossed the Tiber near the Via Nomentana, when on the opposite bank some of his kinsfolk began the pursuit. The novice was on the point of recommending himself to God when, lo and behold, the Tiber rose so high that the friends were unable to cross it even on horseback. Stupefied at what they saw they retired, leaving the youth more than ever confirmed in his vocation. Seeing them disappear, the brothers on their side returned to St Sixtus, and as they approached the river the waters fell to their ordinary level, affording them an easy passage." The saint was, in a few months, destined to see a large increase in the number of his Roman disciples. In 1218 there were only the five friars who had accompanied him from Rome ; towards the end of 1219 more than forty Religious were established at St Sixtus—indeed, if we may believe the marvellous accounts of St Cecilia, they numbered over a hundred. Though the house of St Sixtus had been enlarged by St Dominic, it seemed to be always grow-

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, 4th August.

ing smaller; by the time the women's convent was established there it was too small to hold them. It became necessary to find another refuge for the Friars Preachers, and it was once again Pope Honorius III. who presented them with it.

On the summit of the Aventine, whose steep slopes dominate the Tiber and the utmost limits of the Eternal City, there stands to this day the titular church of Santa Sabina. Founded at the beginning of the fifth century under the pontificate of Celestinus I., it even now preserves a character of venerable antiquity, with its rows of pillars, its open roof, mosaics, and the beautiful carved wooden doors, fine as well as authentic examples of Roman art.¹ In the thirteenth century this basilica with its presbytery were under the protection of the illustrious family of the Savelli, of whom Honorius III. was a member. The Pope himself enjoyed the feudal palace as a place of residence. After having been in the tenth century the abode of the imperial dynasty of Otho, it had become the property² of this family. Many of the papal bulls, and particularly those encouraging the order of the Friars Preachers, were dated from the palace of Santa Sabina. When a fresh abode for St Dominic and his friars had to be found, the Pope naturally thought of the basilica. He gave it to them in 1219, and solemnly confirmed them in its possession

¹ *Armellini, Le chiese di Roma*, p. 582; and by the Rev. Father Berthier, *La Porte de Sainte Sabine à Rome*.

² In 1216 Honorius III. restored the old imperial palace and fortified it by surrounding it with high towers and strong walls whose ruins may still be seen on the Aventine.

on June 5, 1222. "We have thought well," he said to them, "in the interest of many, and with the consent of our brother cardinals, and especially of the titular cardinal of Santa Sabina, to give you the church of Santa Sabina for the celebration of masses, and the neighbouring houses, till now inhabited by clerics, for your abode; reserving, however, the place where the baptistry is, with the neighbouring garden and a lodging for two priests who shall have charge of the parish and the property of the Church." As soon as the alterations were completed, towards the end of January 1220, "the utensils, books, and other objects necessary for the use of the friars were brought in," and presently St Dominic, leaving at St Sixtus only those religious devoted to the spiritual and temporal care of the sisters, established himself with his companions at Santa Sabina. Thus was founded the first authorised Novitiate of the Order, which remained till 1273¹ the residence of the Master General, and in our own days witnessed the reconstitution of the Dominican Province of France through the generosity of Lacordaire.

To establish his Order in the very centre of Catholicism was not enough for St Dominic. He never forgot that the work of preaching necessitates profound study in those who practise it; he had himself studied for long at Palencia, and had

¹ At this time the residence of the Master General of the Order was transferred to the centre of the town, to Santa Maria della Minerva, whose convent remained the General House of the Order till the spoliation of the religious Orders by Young Italy.

written a Biblical Commentary before engaging in learned controversy with the heretics. He had no doubt absolute confidence in the spirit of God, which enlightens the minds even of the ignorant; he felt certain that without the aid of divine grace no human eloquence can bear fruit, but he was far from thinking that men should idly expect from Heaven the means of action. The Friar Preacher must, like himself, unite knowledge to piety, and conquer heretical obstinacy by argument as well as by good example. Study was to be one of the principal occupations of the novice; knowledge one of the most redoubtable weapons of the Dominican. With this end in view the new Order was to seek such places of learning as Bologna and Paris, for their intellectual influence extended over the whole Christian world and attracted to their midst, and about their professorial chairs, students of every tongue and nation. Established in such centres, the Dominican convents would be at once homes of study and of prayer. When their hearts and minds had been trained and prepared, the Religious might spread themselves abroad over the whole civilised world, thanks to the international relations formed at the Universities and the prestige they had won by their studies. When St Dominic founded the houses of Paris and Bologna he had a clear conception of this plan, for he gave them as heads Master Matthew, "a learned man ready to meet every point of doctrine," and the Blessed Reginald, Doctor of Law, and formerly a Professor of Law.

When, after the General Assembly of Prouille, the

monks were dispersed by St Dominic, Matthew of France left for Paris with the three companions the master had intrusted to him, Bertrand of Garrigua, Laurence of England, and John of Navarre. The last was to complete at the University the studies he had already begun. Friar Matthew, as a native of the Ile-de-France, and a friend of Simon de Montfort, could depend on useful patronage. He took with him, besides, the Rules the Pope had just signed "for the establishment and extension of the Order." He was soon joined by three other monks: Manés, St Dominic's own brother, Michael of Fabra, and the lay brother Oderic. The little colony of monks reached Paris at the beginning of October 1217. They hired a modest house between the Hôtel-Dieu and the episcopal palace. Matthew of France became its Superior, and Michael de Fabra took charge of the studies with the title of Lecturer.

Thanks to the protection which Philip Augustus had accorded them during his whole reign, the schools of Paris were at this time the most flourishing in Europe. Innocent III. had just conferred on them important privileges which his successors were to confirm and increase. The various faculties had been firmly attached together and were at length known under the common name of University. Attracted by the immunities granted them by the kings and popes, students flocked to Paris from every province in France, enrolling themselves according to their origin and birthplace. The four *nations* were already differ-

entiated—French, Picards, Normans and English. But besides these the University contained students of all countries which invested it with an ecumenical character. Does not Arnold Lubeck, a Danish chronicler of that day, mention that his countrymen, like the Germans, sent their best students to Paris to follow the curriculum including theology, the liberal arts, and civil and canonical law? It was the same in Spain, Italy, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and even in the Scandinavian peninsula.¹

In the midst of these thousands of students the seven disciples of St Dominic passed at first unnoticed, but their assiduity soon attracted the attention of the University to their modest demeanour.

They gained the favour of one of the most celebrated masters of the University, who presented them with a house in Paris. Jean de Barastre, Dean of St Quentin, the illustrious professor of theology, had in 1209 built a small hospice which he dedicated to St Jacques. It was opposite the church of St Etienne des Grès, not far from the Porte d'Orléans. On August 6 he gave it to Matthew of France and his six friends, who thus acquired a fixed abode. "The Friars," says John of Navarre some time later, "established themselves there and founded a convent, where they gathered together many good clerics who afterwards entered the Order

¹ For the history of the Paris University at the beginning of the thirteenth century, cf. Denifle O. P., *Les Universités au moyen âge (all.)*, vol. i. pp. 67 and following pages; 84 and following ones.

of Friars Preachers. Much property and revenues were then given to them and everything succeeded as St Dominic had predicted.”¹

This growing prosperity gave offence to the chapter of Notre Dame. The church of St Jacques was built on the ground belonging to the parish of St Benoît, which itself depended on the chapter.² Fearing that the services in the monks' chapel would damage the parochial rights of St Benoît, the canons forbade the Dominicans to celebrate public worship at St Jacques. On his arrival in Paris the matter was put into the hands of St Dominic by Matthew of France, and he referred it to the Holy See. He gained his case: on December 1, 1219, Honorius III. wrote to the convent of St Jacques that, “touched by their appeal he gave them leave to celebrate the Divine Office in the church in Paris given them by the monks of the University”; and on December 11 he charged the Priors of St Denis, of St Germain des Près, as well as the chancellor of the church in Milan, then in Paris, to see that the privilege was respected.³ The

¹ *Acts of Bologna.*

² “The church of St Benoît le Bestourné, once known as St Bacche or Bacque, was given to the Canons of the Cathedral by Henry I., also the churches of St Étienne, St Julien and St Séverin. It is called a member of the church of N.-D. in an act of the year 1171 passed between it and the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem for the settlement of their respective rights. It had canons appointed by the chapter of Notre Dame to which they swore fealty.” Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre Dame de Paris*, p. 130.

³ These two bulls are published in the *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. ii. p. 387 and 388.

chancellor of Notre Dame, Philippe de Grève, never forgave the Preachers their victory; till his death, which occurred in 1237, "he snarled at them on every occasion and in every sermon." But St Dominic carefully watched over his Paris convent. At his request Honorius III. complimented the masters of the University on the favours they showered on it, and encouraged them to continue: "That you may still further understand the profound regard in which we hold these Friars we do by these presents advise and enjoin on you to pursue the work you have so well begun. For the sake of the apostolic See and our own, look on them as being peculiarly commended to you, and lend them a helping hand. In so doing God will prosper you, and you will more and more deserve our goodwill and favour."¹

Before long, in Paris as in Rome, numerous religious vocations began to people the Dominican house. When they had come from Prouille in October 1217 they were only seven friars; there were thirty fifteen months later, when St Dominic visited them at the beginning of 1219. The new recruits were mostly young students attracted to St Jacques by the holiness of their Dominican co-disciples, such as Father Gueric of Metz, whose call to the religious life is thus charmingly described by Étienne de Bourbon. In Paris in 1218, on a quiet evening in autumn, "a clerk was gazing from his study window, when suddenly in the street he heard someone singing in French the following song:—

¹ *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. iii. (in the press).

Le temps s'en vaît
 Et rien n'ai fait ;
 Le temps s'en vient
 Et ne fais rien.

At first only the sweetness of the music struck him, then the sense of the words, and reflecting that they suited his own case he received them as a heavenly message. The very next day the young man, who was rich, gave up his possessions and entered the Order of Friars Preachers. His name was Gueric, and he was the first prior of the Friars of Metz, whose convent he founded."

From this time the house in Paris became a centre of expansion for the Order; and as in 1217 the monks of Prouille and St Romanus had been dispersed by St Dominic through different countries, so Matthew of France distributed his over the different French provinces. Peter Seila, who had come from Toulouse to Paris after the death of Simon de Montfort, left it in the February of 1220 with many of the friars from St Jacques to found the convent of Limoges, "where he passed his declining years like a prophet of old, honoured and respected by the clergy and the people." The same year the Archbishop of Rheims, Alberic de Humbert, and his successor William of Joinville, summoned to their town the Preachers of Paris; soon afterwards Friar Gueric left Paris to found a convent of his Order at Metz under the paternal roof. The following year Brother William conducted a fresh colony of monks to Poitiers, and the bishop and chapter of that town at once granted them the

church of St Christophe with a vineyard and the place and land attached to it. The Bishop of Orleans, Manassès, an old friend of St Dominic, for his part, invited them to his episcopal See and allotted to them the church of Saint Germain near the fortifications. The House of St Jacques became in this way the Dominican Novitiate for the whole of France.

The convent in Bologna played the same part in Italy.

The University of that town was as celebrated as the one in Paris; the reputation of its jurists and canonists was widespread. In the time of St Dominic, Odofredo of Benevento and Albert of Pavia lectured on civil law with much brilliance; the archdeacon Tancred, John of Spain, Gilbert of England, Chiaro di Sexto, John the Teuton and Raymond of Pennaforte on canonical law; and Roland of Cremona and Moneta on the liberal arts. These masters, who came from every Christian country, were soon surrounded by thousands of students of every nationality. By reason of its profound learning and its European renown the University of Bologna was, as in the case of the one in Paris, destined to attract St Dominic's attention.

It was after the feast of Easter 1218 that he decided to send there from Rome three of his friars. Honorius III., always full of indulgence for the Order, gave them letters of introduction,¹ and at the end of April they set forth. They went to a modest hostelry in the suburbs, established for the benefit

¹ *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. ii. p. 183.

of pilgrims and travellers and kept by the Canons Regular of the Abbey of Roncevalles. "That year, 1218," says a Bolognese chronicler,¹ "three friars of the Order of Friars Preachers came to Bologna for the first time, saying they had been sent by a certain Master Dominic, a Spaniard. As they seemed to be holy men, the church of Santa Maria della Mascarella was given them." The early days of the foundation were difficult. "The friars," says Jordan of Saxony, "suffered all the misery of extreme poverty."² But on the arrival of the Blessed Reginald all was changed.

As a Doctor of Law Reginald³ had from 1206 taught canonical law with great brilliance in the University of Paris; in 1212 he was made Dean of the important collegiate church of St Aignan of Orleans. Now in 1218 he went to Rome to pray at the apostles' tomb, meaning to proceed to the Holy Land. "But already," says Humbert de Romans,⁴ "God had inspired him with the wish to forsake all to preach the gospel. He was preparing himself for the work, hardly knowing how to proceed, for he was not aware that an Order of Friars Preachers had been established. Now it happened that in conversation with a cardinal he opened his heart on the subject by saying how he hoped to give up everything to preach Christ everywhere in voluntary poverty. The cardinal replied: "It

¹ Bibl. Univ. de Bologna.—Chron. of Borselli.

² Jordan of Saxony, *Script. Ord. Prædic.* vol. i. p. 18.

³ See notice on him by Echard, *Script. Ord. Prædic.* vol. i. p. 89.

⁴ Humbert de Romanis, ap. Boll. *Acta SS.*, 4th August.

happens that an Order has just now come into existence whose object it is to unite poverty with the office of preaching, and the master who himself preaches God's Word is in this very town." Hearing this Master Reginald set off in haste to find the Blessed Dominic and to make known to him the secret of his soul. He was fascinated by the appearance of the saint and the eloquence of his discourse, and he there and then resolved to enter the Order."¹ "He made his profession in the hands of St Dominic," continues the Blessed Jordan, "and at the request of his bishop, and with the permission of the saint, he crossed the sea and on his return went to Bologna."²

His legal studies and his reputation as a professor of canon law made him the proper person to direct the humble convent that had just been founded in the town of Law. He arrived there on December 21, 1218, and at once began to preach. "His words burn," says Jordan, "his eloquence like a flaming torch sets the hearts of his hearers on fire. Bologna is in flames. It is as though a second Elias had arisen."³ His reputation as

¹ The oldest chroniclers of the Order report that soon afterwards in one of his illnesses Reginald saw in a vision our Lady and that she showed him the habit the monks were to adopt instead of the dress of the Canons Regular which they had till then worn (*cf.* Jordan of Saxony, No. 34; Constantine d'Orvieto, No. 24.)

² Jordan of Saxony, No. 35.

³ Jordan of Saxony: "Cœpit autem prædicationi totus insistere et ignitum erat ejus eloquium vehementer, sermoque ipsius, quasi facula ardens, corda cunctorum audientium inflammabat. . . . Tota tunc fervebat Bononia, quia novus insurrexisse videbatur Elias."

a scientist attracted an audience both of students and masters and very soon none of them were able to escape his influence. Many left the world to seek the humble roof of the Mascarella; Reginald's eloquence so increased the number of vocations that heads of families and professors began to dread the irresistible attraction the preacher exerted on their children and pupils. In his *Lives of the Friars*, Gérard de Frachet gives an anecdote showing the power of language possessed by Reginald.¹ "When Brother Reginald of blessed memory, formerly Dean of Orleans, preached in Bologna and attracted into the Order churchmen and doctors of renown, Master Moneta gave instruction in the arts, and was famous all over Lombardy. Seeing the conversion of so many men he began to be afraid for himself. He therefore carefully avoided Brother Reginald and tried to keep his own students away from him. But on the feast of St Stephen his pupils dragged him off to hear the sermon, and because he could not resist their importunity or for some other reason, he said: 'Let us go first to St Proclus and hear mass.' They went, and heard not one mass only but three, for Moneta hoped to gain time and thus avoid the sermon. But his pupils continued to press him till he at length said, 'We will go now.' When they reached the church the sermon was still proceeding, and the crowd was so great that Moneta was obliged to stay by the door. He had scarcely begun to listen when he was conquered. The

¹ Gérard de Frachet, *Vie des Frères*, liv. iv. chap. x.

orator was at that instant exclaiming: 'I see Heaven open! yea, open for those who wish to see, who long to enter. The doors are open to those who would fain press in. Do not shut your heart, your mouth, your hands, lest Heaven also close on you. Why do you pause? Heaven opens for you!' As soon as Reginald had left the pulpit, Moneta, touched by God, sought the preacher to make known his state of mind and his difficulties, and then made his vows of obedience in his hands. As his numerous duties interfered with his freedom of action he continued to wear his ordinary dress for a year, though he worked with all his might to bring fresh hearers and new disciples. Sometimes it would be one person, sometimes another, and whenever he made a conquest it seemed to him each time as though he were himself taking the habit."

Many of these Bolognese who entered the Order through the ministrations of the Blessed Reginald are known to us. Amongst them may be mentioned Chiaro di Sesto, who taught the liberal arts and canon law at the University, and who later became provincial of Rome and filled the office of papal penitentiary; Paul of Venice who, by his own account, "made his profession in the hands of Master Reginald and received the habit of the Order on the Sunday of the Gospel of the Canaanite woman (March 3), 1219"; Friar Guala, the most celebrated of the masters of art in the University; and Roland of Cremona, who made his profession under peculiar circumstances.

The Bologna convent had been growing discouraged. Two of the monks were about to desert it, and Reginald was attempting to restore confidence to the friars assembled in Chapter. "He had scarcely finished speaking when," says Gérard de Frachet, "Roland of Cremona was seen to enter. He was a well-known professor at the University, an eminent philosopher and the first of the Order who had publicly taught theology in Paris. Driven by the Holy Spirit he had come alone and of his own initiative to the door of the convent. They brought him into the Chapter House, and there, as though drunk with the Holy Ghost, he, without further preamble, begged to be received. Formerly on feast days, clad in rich scarlet, he had made merry with his friends, in feasting, games, and all kinds of pleasures. When at night he came to himself, inwardly touched by grace, he would ask: 'Where is now the feast just celebrated, where the mad gaiety?' and reflecting how quickly pleasure passes away and changes to grief he entered the Order, where he served the Lord for many years in wisdom and holiness."

Following on these many professions the community soon found the humble house of the Mascarella too small, and after 1219 Reginald began to look out for another dwelling. This was the church of San Nicola delle Vigne. With the consent of the bishop it was given up by its rector Rudolfo, Doctor of Law, who took the Preacher's habit; and soon afterwards Peter Lovello and his wife Otta, at the request of their daughter Diana, bestowed on

the friars the land and houses near the church. From this time dates the definite foundation of the great monastery of Bologna, destined to possess and to preserve to our own day the precious relics of St Dominic,

Scarce a year after its establishment it had so prospered that monastic colonies could be sent out to Lombardy, Tuscany and the environs of Rome.

St Dominic came on a four months' visit to San Nicola delle Vigne from July till November, and himself undertook to train as novices the monks he intended to send out. To teach them how to love and cherish the spirit of poverty he tore up before their eyes a deed assuring important revenues to the monastery. To set them an example of regularity, "he shared their common life and rigorously practised fasting and other observances. If he perceived any infraction of the rule he punished the delinquent with mildness, and however severe might be the penance it was inflicted with so much gentleness and kindness that no one could be angry. He willingly gave dispensations to others, never to himself. He kept strict silence during the hours prescribed by the Order and at other times spoke rarely and then only to or of God. On the subject of silence some of his most pressing exhortations to his friars were made. If in the Refectory (which he regularly attended) the friars had two dishes on their table he ate but one, and though exhausted by severe vigils he took little food or drink. He was assiduous at the choir office, and was at times so

plunged in his devotions that no sound could distract him from them.”¹

When Dominic had trained his disciples in this manner he sent them forth in every direction. Guala founded the convent of Bergamos; the Dominican tradition reported by Bernard Guidonis towards 1300 gave this monastery the second rank as to age in the province of Lombardy, placing it immediately after that in Bologna.²

The convent at Milan was founded shortly afterwards. When coming back across the mountains and staying in that town St Dominic had been begged to send there some of his friars. It was infested by heretical Waldenses and Patarins and seemed in special need of the Preacher's zeal. This was enough for St Dominic; he was hardly back in Bologna before he had chosen two of his best Religious, Giacomo d'Aribaldi and Roboald de Monza and despatched them to Milan. There they arrived in the early days of 1220 and accepted hospitality from the Chapter of San Nazzario, who had welcomed the master on each of his journeys.

It seemed a favourable opportunity for the establishment of a Dominican convent in that town. The friend and protector of the Order, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Ugolino, had been sent to Milan by Pope Honorius III. to negotiate a peace between that powerful city and the neighbouring commune of Cremona. Besides Hugh of

¹ *Acts of Bologna.*

² Quétif and Echard, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 20.

Setara, Cimeliarch, vicar of the archbishop, the majority of the Chapter were quite won over to the new comers as soon as they had heard them preach and had witnessed the wonderful results of their apostolic zeal. The Cardinal of Ostia set in motion every possible means for keeping the Dominicans in Milan and finding them a permanent abode. He chose for this purpose the church of St Eustorgio. The priests who served it resigned their offices, and taking with them their sacred vessels, ornaments, and revenues, they retired to the church of San Lorenzo. Ugolino replaced them by the Friars Preachers, who found St Eustorgio in great poverty. The sixty pounds of revenue which remained to it scarce sufficed for the most needful repairs, and poverty once again presided at the establishment of the Preachers. On March 15, 1220, the Order received from the Pope's representatives and the Archbishop of Milan the church of St Eustorgio.¹

The town of Viterbo at the same time received the disciples of St Dominic. It was on the way to become one of the principal residences of the Holy See. Several popes of the twelfth century had stayed in it; Innocent III. had passed part of the years of 1207 and 1209 there; and finally Honorius III. had just established himself there in October 1219, when St Dominic left Bologna for the Roman Curia. It was this that decided him to found a convent of his Order in that city. He confided the

¹ Quétif and Echard.

task to five Religious whom he brought with him from Bologna in November 1219, Bonviso, Paul of Venice, William of Montferrat, Fougerio and Tancred.

The new convent found the best possible support in the person of the celebrated Rainiero Capocci, cardinal of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Filled with a special devotion for the virgin, Capocci saw in a vision a noble lady of incomparable beauty holding in her hand a lighted taper; she took the Cardinal by the hand and led him to a neighbouring forest, to a large portion of which she set fire with her taper. Awakening with a start, Capocci was eager to discover the meaning of this curious vision. He consulted Albus, a venerable saint who lived in solitude not far from Viterbo and whose wise advice he had already followed on more than one occasion. Now it happened that on the same night Albus had himself seen the Mother of God seated on her royal throne, and that she had revealed to him her designs with regard to Cardinal Capocci. She wished him to build her a church in the forest where she had led him in his dream. Informed of this by Albus, Capocci obeyed the command of the Blessed Virgin, and not far from San Martino di Monti, in the midst of the wood, he undertook the construction of a magnificent church. It was hardly begun when he became friends with St Dominic and offered it to him for his Religious with the convent he had built. Such was the marvellous origin of the monastery of Santa Maria a Gradi, which was soon famous owing to its splendid library, due to the

liberality of Capocci, and the artistic treasures of its church (1220).¹

As though anxious to show his preference for Spain, his own country, St Dominic paid particular attention to the diffusion of the Order through the kingdoms of Aragon, Castille and Portugal. After the Assembly of Prouille, August 1217, he sent over the Pyrenees in one direction Suéro Gomez and Peter of Madrid, and in another Michael of Uzéro, and Dominic of Segovia. The two first preached with success in Portugal; the others were less fortunate, and "because they did not obtain the expected fruit of their labours they, after a few months of painful and useless work, rejoined the blessed father in Italy." St Dominic felt it was necessary to strengthen with his own hands the uncertain work of his disciples. Taking with him Dominic of Segovia he set out for Spain towards the end of the year 1218; he crossed the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncevalles, passed through Pampe-luna and doubtless visited Burgos to lay before the king of Castille the pontifical bulls putting the Order under apostolic patronage. He preached in each of these halting places, and then passed on to Segovia where he founded the first Spanish convent of the Order (February 1219). After having placed Friar Corbolan at the head of the infant monastery he continued his way southwards, and at Madrid rejoined Peter of Medina. The latter had been more than a year in the exercise of his apostolic

¹ We borrow this narrative from Ciaconius, *Historia Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium*, vol. ii. p. 34.

functions in that town, gathering new friars about him and inspiring in pious women a longing after the religious life. Dominic completed what had been begun, and inaugurated at Madrid a convent on the model of the one at Prouille, where the cloistered nuns were intrusted to the keeping and guard of the Friars Preachers.¹

He showed the same anxiety for them as for their sisters of Prouille. He himself laid down their rule of life with much care in a letter preserved for us by the Cardinal of Aragon.² "We rejoice," he said to them, "and we thank God that he has seen fit to favour you with this holy vocation and to deliver you from the corruptions of this world. Fight the old enemy of the human race, my daughters, by means of fasting; remember that only those are crowned who have fought. My desire is that in cloistered places—that is the refectory, the dormitory, and the oratory—silence shall be kept, and that in everything besides the Rule shall be observed. Let no one leave the convent; let no one enter it unless it be the bishop and the other superiors who come to preach or to visit it canonically. Be not chary of vigils nor of the discipline; obey the prioress; waste no time in vain talking. Since we can give you no material aid we exempt you from the charge of receiving friars or other persons. . . . Our very dear brother, Friar Manés, who has spared no pains to bring you to this state of grace, will take what steps seem

¹ Echard, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 18.

² *Arch. de l'ordre*, M.S. liv. i.

to him necessary to ensure your holy and religious life. We give him authority to visit in the convent, and to correct where he sees fit, and even if needful to change the prioress, with the consent of the majority in the house."

The Dominicans required a place of study in Spain as much as in France and Italy. For this reason a convent was in 1219 founded close to the University of Palencia. There is no formal proof to show that St Dominic presided at its creation, but recollecting that he himself studied in the schools of that town, and comparing this foundation with those of Bologna and Paris, it is impossible not to recognise in it the work of the blessed saint. "If," remarks Father Balme, not without some show of reason, "Saint Dominic was not the actual founder of this convent, one may assume that during his journey in his own country some months earlier he had been the inspirer and adviser of the project at such time as the Lord should see fit to make its execution possible."

On his return to Rome St Dominic continued to labour at the propagation of the Order in Spain. He was helped in the work by a celebrated teacher of Canon Law at the University of Bologna, the Catalonian Raymond of Pennaforte, who was destined to wear somewhat later the habit of the Preachers, to govern the Order as Master General, and to become one of its greatest saints.

At Bologna, Raymond had been a witness of the marvels done by Reginald, and he, like the other Professors of Law, his colleagues, had felt that

his influence and his sympathies went with the Dominicans. When in 1219 the bishop of Barcelona, Berengarius of Palou, passed through Bologna on his way to the Pontifical Court, Raymond spoke to him in praise of the new Order, and inspired him with the wish to establish it in his episcopal See. At Viterbo, Berengarius obtained from St Dominic a promise of some of his own friars of Bologna for the foundation he had in view, and taking them and Raymond of Pennaforte with him he installed them at Barcelona in 1219. One of the chief citizens of that town, Peter Grunio, received them at his own house and kept them there for three years, till the convent was definitely settled in 1222.

While St Dominic was occupied in thus extending the Order in France, Italy and Spain, his attention was attracted to more remote and less known European regions. It had been always his wish to devote himself to the evangelisation of pagans and barbarous peoples, and Providence seemed now about to supply him with the means of devoting to this work a portion of the energy of his spiritual sons. Ivan Odrowantz, bishop of Cracow, transferred by the Holy See to the archbishopric of Gnesen, arrived at the Papal Court in the early days of 1220 on certain business connected with his promotion. He was accompanied by his two nephews, Hyacinth and Ceslas, canons of Cracow, also by two gentlemen, Hermann the Teutonic, and Henry of Moravia. After taking leave of the Pope at Viterbo he with his companions went to Rome to perform his

pilgrimage to the apostles' tomb. He then made the acquaintance of St Dominic and his Order whilst the reform amongst the Roman nuns was proceeding, and the convents of St Sixtus and Santa Sabina were being founded.

Now Ivan Odrowantz could, better than anyone else, understand the usefulness of the Preachers. Poland, of which the Bishop of Cracow was about to become Metropolitan, was already as it were the bulwark of Catholicism against pagans and schismatics. The vast plains of Russia were constantly menaced by idolatrous Turks; and the Finns, still an almost barbarous people, inhabited the shores of the Baltic. The Teutonic knights and the Brothers of the Sword fought against them, but to send them Catholic missionaries became every day more necessary. Ivan had already appealed to the zeal of the Premonstratensian Fathers; he had been at Rome a witness of the sanctity of St Dominic and his friends, and he was also anxious to secure the assistance of the Friars Preachers. He sought the blessed saint and begged him to give him some of his friars for Poland, his own country. But for the past two years the founding of one convent after another had come so rapidly that the great centres of the Order were impoverished. The religious, though numerous, scarce sufficed for the houses already established. St Dominic was obliged to confess this to the Polish bishop. "Nevertheless," he added, "if you have a few willing men agreeable to God, and fit to be admitted into the Order, I will receive them." Ivan offered him three of his own house-

hold, Hyacinth, Ceslas and Hermann the Teuton.¹ Dominic admitted them, gave them the habit of the Order, and when they had been instructed in humility, charity and holy observances they were professed. Hyacinth and his companions left Rome towards the month of April 1220, and returning to Poland, preached for some months in Carinthia, where their words stirred up fresh vocations. At Friesach they founded a convent which was placed under the direction of Hermann. Hyacinth passed through Austria, Moravia and Silesia, and returned to Cracow at the end of 1220.

The sermons he preached there proved so successful that very soon the canons and town magistrates arranged with the new bishop that the church of the Trinity, and money to build a large monastery close by, should be given to the Preachers. From that time the convent at Cracow became the centre of Dominican missions in the Slav countries. During the saint's lifetime Ceslas left him to establish a convent at Prague, and other monastic colonies were sent from the Trinity to Sandomir in Little Poland, to Plockow on the Vistula, and even to Denmark and Russia. "Before his death Hyacinth set up the Dominican tents in Kief itself, under the very eyes of the Greek schismatics and amid the noise of the Tartar invasions."²

¹ Stanislaus of Cracow, a chronicler of the fourteenth century, from whom we borrow this account, forgets Henry of Cracow who, with the three others, entered the Order. Cf. on Stanislaus of Cracow (died in 1350), Quétif and Echard, *op. cit.* liv. i. p. 632.

² Lacordaire, *op. cit.* p. 197.

At length at the second meeting of the Chapter General (which he held some months before his death on May 30, 1221) St Dominic sent out several of his friars to Hungary and Great Britain. In the steppes of the Danube and the Dnieper lived the pagan Cumans he had longed to convert when he accompanied Didacus, his bishop, to Rome. At Bologna he discovered the very man exactly fitted by birth for such a work. Amongst the University masters was a Hungarian named Paul. His fame was already well established when, touched by St Dominic's preaching, he left the world and begged for the Preacher's habit. He was at once sent to Hungary with Brother Sadoc and three other monks. His preaching brought forth fruit, and he was before long enabled to build two monasteries, one at Vesprim for nuns who followed the Rule of Prouille and St Sixtus, the other at Alba Royal for the friars. In a short time the number of professions had so increased that the convent at Alba became a missionary centre and played for the pagans or schismatics of the south-east of Europe the same part as Cracow for the north-east. From thence after the year 1222 missionaries set out to preach the gospel in Transylvania, Servia, Wallachia, and even where the Tartar Cumans led a nomadic existence on the banks of the Dnieper.

We have fewer details as to the establishment of the Order in England. At the second meeting of the Chapter at Bologna St Dominic decided to send twelve of his religious to Canterbury under the charge of Gilbert de Frassinet. The archbishop of

that town received them kindly, and by his advice they established themselves at Oxford, where they founded the King Edward schools. Tradition has attempted to go further than history; according to it Friar Laurence of England, one of St Dominic's first comrades, had in 1220 brought over to Great Britain several of the friars from St Jacques in Paris; but we know from another and a more certain source that Laurence spent that year in Rome. Another legend has it that, during his stay in Paris in 1219, St Dominic and the King of Scotland, Alexander II., met, and that the latter asked for some religious for his kingdom. Unfortunately this is not mentioned by any contemporary writer, while on the other hand an ancient chronicle speaks only in 1230 of the establishment of the Order in Scotland.

"These two missions in England and Hungary had," says Lacordaire, "given Dominic possession of Europe." He could now contemplate his work with satisfaction, believing it to be blessed by God. The birth had been a painful one, and at first it appeared likely to be a failure, but suddenly the Holy Preaching developed more prosperously. The forty religious dispersed over the world after the assembly of Prouille had in less than four years founded more than sixty convents. St Dominic was in 1217 the head of a small flock; in 1221 he became Master General of an Order comprising more than five hundred religious and at least a hundred nuns, whose influence extended from the uplands of Spain to the Russian steppes, under the fogs of Great

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Britain and beneath the radiance of an oriental sky. It was truly the grain of mustard seed which had sprouted in the district of Toulouse and had given birth to a tree whose branches were already a shelter for the whole Catholic Church !

CHAPTER VI

ST DOMINIC'S JOURNEYS AND PREACHING

ST DOMINIC, though he made his home in Rome, did not give up his apostolic travels; he never ceased preaching from town to town, and from hamlet to hamlet. "This ardent lover of souls had the salvation of others always in mind; night and day, in churches, houses, by the wayside, indeed in every place, he eagerly spread the Word of God and exhorted his friars to this work, and this only." "He strove to speak of God to almost everyone he met on the highways."¹ The organisation of his Order was of such a kind as to make these journeys a necessity. The labours of the isolated friars had to be co-ordinated, new convents to be informed with the spirit of the earlier institutions, and the training of the novices carefully supervised. The saint, with the practical common sense which distinguished him, understood the duties belonging to his position, and to fulfil them he from the year 1217 to the time of his death, set himself without the smallest hesitation, to travel over a great part of Western Europe.

Though venerated by his religious, the valued adviser of the Pope, and esteemed and respected by

¹ *Bolognese Documents.*

princes, St Dominic travelled with the utmost simplicity, never changing the modest habits he had learned from Didacus his bishop. "Outside the towns," says Thierry of Apoldia, "it was his custom to walk barefoot sometimes among stones and sharp pebbles, often through thorns and briars, so that with feet all torn and bleeding he would exclaim in holy joy: 'This is part of our penance!'" Though always ready to bear a brother's burden he never allowed anyone else to carry his own cloak or books. Floods and inundations could not bar his way. He preferred to lodge at the convents and submitted himself to the Rule of the house, even when it was not of his own Order. If he found none, he chose the most modest of inns and was careful to let no one know his real position. One of his friars always accompanied him and was edified by his austerity and pious example. "He rejoiced in tribulations," says William of Montferrat, "and would under their influence bless God and sing the *Ave Maris Stella* or the *Veni Creator*." Another companion, Paul of Venice, declares that he never saw him ruffled by disappointment, annoyances, or contradiction: "he would sometimes," he adds, "beg for alms in humility of spirit and from house to house like a beggar. When he was begging at Duliolum he was given a whole loaf, which he received kneeling; he fasted every day, yet was careful that his friars should eat well because of the fatigues of travel." "He frequently passed the night in prayer," deposed Brother Fougierio during the process of canonisation, and his petitions were

broken by sighs and groans.¹ "His communion with God was so strong and so close," quotes Lacordaire from the *Acts of Bologna*, "that he scarcely raised his eyes from the ground. He never entered any house where hospitality was given him without first saying a prayer in the church, if there was one in the place. When the meal was ended he retired to a chamber where he read the Gospel of St Matthew or the Epistle of St Paul, which he always carried about with him. He would sit down, open his book, cross himself and then begin to read attentively. But presently he became carried away by the Divine Word. From his gestures it seemed as though he were speaking with someone: he appeared to listen, to dispute, to argue; at times he smiled or wept; he gazed straight before him, then lowered his eyes, muttered to himself and beat upon his breast. He passed incessantly from reading to prayer and from meditation to contemplation. From time to time he would press his lips lovingly to his book as though thanking it for his happiness, or bury his face in his hands or his hood and sink still deeper into his holy ecstasy."

He preached to the people in most of the towns he passed through, in the churches, streets, or at the cross roads, with such pathetic eloquence as to draw tears from his hearers. He inspected the houses of his Order with a watchful eye, and had lengthy conversations with the priors of each one of them so as to ascertain the exact state of all.

¹ All these instances are borrowed from the *Bolognese Documents* published by the Bollandists.

He preached to his religious by his example, of the love and strict observance of the Rule, and explained its meaning in friendly talk. "On his arrival at a monastery," says Friar Ventura, "he, unlike most men, did not retire to rest, but assembling the religious he spoke to them of God and sought to encourage them." He loved voluntary poverty and desired that it should be loved by his friars, but he never neglected temporal things. He was interested in every material question that could promote the spiritual welfare of a convent or of the whole Order. He took advantage of his sojourn in any house of the Order to appease strife, settle difficulties, or confirm transactions and contracts that might be in negotiation with prelates, princes, or even with private persons. Having thus fulfilled his duty as a religious and as Master of the Order, he would retire to his cell to receive the discipline. "He had it administered with a triple iron chain," says Friar Ventura; "I know this from religious from whom he asked this service."

Scarcely eight months after his installation in Rome St Dominic felt that it was his duty to visit the convents he had just founded. He set off from St Sixtus towards the end of October 1218, to spend the feast of All Saints with his brothers of Bologna. This convent had been only in existence a few months, and was in need of the advice and teaching of the Master. During his short stay there St Dominic was lavish of both. He left with Friar Dominic of Segovia and soon reached Prouille,

Fanjeaux, and the other places that had received the first fruits of his apostleship.

The monastery of Prouille was passing through trials that demanded the presence of its founder. The prior appointed in September 1217 had just died, having been drowned in the waters of the Blau. Simon de Montfort, the devoted protector of the nuns, had been, some months earlier, killed before the walls of Toulouse, and the progress of the heretics became every day more alarming. Lastly, Alboin, the abbot of St Hilaire, disputed the right of the convent to the gift of the church of St Martin de Limoux which had in 1209 been bestowed on them by Berengarius, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the representatives of the sisters had been violently expelled from it by him. St Dominic remained calm; he conferred on William Claret the dignity of prior, and bade him demand from the archbishop of Narbonne the confirmation of the gift of St Martin. At Prouille he decided on the creation of the convent of the Preachers of Lyons. In the early days of December 1218 he sent to that town two friars: Arnold of Toulouse, whose trust in God was as inexhaustible as his zeal; and Romeo of Livia, "a religious of simple habits, humble bearing, gracious demeanour, of honied speech, and full of love to his neighbour."¹ They were kindly received by the Archbishop Reginald de Forez and the Dean of his Chapter, and they founded at Fourvières one of the most important monasteries of the Order.

¹ Echard, vol. i. p. 160.

St Dominic soon afterwards set off for Spain. He was once more, after an absence of nearly fifteen years, to revisit his own country. In every town he passed through he preached, and his word was often confirmed by miracles. At Segovia,¹ where he was towards the Christmas of 1218, he, by his prayers, caused a much needed rain to descend on the thirsty land. On another occasion his tunic was the means of saving his hostess' few possessions from fire. "As there was no convent of the Order in the town," writes Gérard de Frachet, "the servant of the Lord had for some time lodged at the house of a poor woman. The saint, having one day discovered an extremely rough hair shirt much to his taste, at once cast aside the coarse tunic he had been temporarily using. His hostess gathered it up reverently, and placed it in a coffer with her most precious objects and kept it with as much care as though it had been a piece of the imperial purple. Now it happened one day that, when she was out, the fire she had forgotten to extinguish set light to the room, and burned all the furniture, with the exception of the wooden coffer containing the saint's tunic. Not only was the coffer unburned, but it was not even blackened by the smoke. The woman, astounded on her return by the great miracle, gave thanks to God and then to the blessed Dominic, whose tunic had preserved from the flames the whole of her small treasures which were in the

¹ It was during this visit that he founded the convents of Madrid and Segovia and prepared the way for the one at Palencia.

box." Before leaving his country for ever Dominic visited the places where he had passed the early years of his life: Gumiel of Izan where he had been brought up by his uncle the arch-priest, and Osma where he had been canon, and where, according to a tradition, he is said to have founded a monastery for women.¹

He recrossed the Pyrenees towards the end of March 1219, for about the feast of Easter he was at Toulouse, where he once more found his faithful friend Bishop Foulques, one of the first patrons of his work. He passed some time with the monks of St Romanus and preached in their church. But such crowds of people flocked to it that it soon became too small to hold them, and the preaching had to be continued in the Cathedral of St Étienne, the largest building in the town. It seems probable that from Toulouse the saint went to pay one more visit to the "Elder Daughters of the Order," the Sisters of Prouille, for his return to the county of Toulouse coincides with the settlement of the matter concerning St Martin. Bernard of Rochefort, bishop of Carcassonne, gave judgment in the name of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, and restitution of the church of Limoux was made to the sisters on April 13, 1219.²

¹ In spite of the dryness of developing a subject of this kind, we were anxious to draw up the itinerary followed by St Dominic from 1218 to 1221, for no better means of giving an idea of the energy shown by him during the latest years of his life could be chosen. We have derived it especially from the documents published by Balme in his *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*.

² Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 275.

The saint was eager to visit the House of St Jacques in Paris. It was developing rapidly, and he counted on it as a means of extending the Order. He took with him as a travelling companion Bertrand of Garrigua, "his friendly rival in devotion and holiness," and set forth after the feast of Easter. "During his journeys," says Étienne de Salagnac,¹ "the blessed father frequently and with gladness visited haunts of prayer and relics of saints; and he did not pass them by like a cloud without rain, but often, to lengthen his petitions, he added night to day. On the way from Toulouse to Paris he came upon a place of pilgrimage then universally frequented—Our Lady of Rocamadour—where he stopped and passed the night in prayer. Next day he set off again with his companion, reciting by the way the psalms and litanies. . . . Still on foot he passed on to Orleans accompanied by German pilgrims also returning from Rocamadour. "At one place,"² Gérard de Frachet narrates, "these strangers generously invited them to partake of their provisions, and continued to do so for the next four days. On the way the blessed saint said to his companion: 'Brother Bertrand, I have it on my conscience that we make a temporal harvest out of these pilgrims without sowing in them spiritual seed. Let us therefore kneel down and ask God's grace to understand and speak their tongue, that we may preach to them Jesus Christ.' They immediately

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 286.

² Gérard de Frachet, *Vita fratrum* (ed. by Cormier), p. 59, quoted by Father Balme and Lacordaire.

did so, when, to the surprise of everybody, they began to speak German quite distinctly in such a fashion that during the four more days they journeyed together they were able to converse about the Lord Jesus. At Orleans the other pilgrims followed the direction of Chartres and left Dominic and Bertrand on their way to Paris, bidding them farewell and desiring to be remembered in their prayers. Next day the blessed Father said to his companion: 'We are now approaching Paris; if the friars hear of the miracle the Lord has done they will look on us as saints instead of the sinners we are, and should it reach the ears of worldlings it will go hard with our humility; therefore I forbid you to speak of it to anyone till after my death.' Brother Bertrand obeyed, but after the saint's death he confided it to the pious friars."

When he reached the convent of St Jacques, in the June of 1219, Dominic found there more than thirty religious gathered together under the direction of Matthew of France and Michael de Fabra. He also presided at several fresh professions. He received William of Montferrat, whom he had formerly met in Rome at the house of Cardinal Ugolino, and who after studying at the Paris University had begged to be given the habit of the Preachers; and Henry the Teuton, driven into the Order by a supernatural vision, and afterwards destined to devote himself to the controversy against the Jews and to foreign missions. At St Jacques, as in all the other convents where he stayed, Dominic had conferences for the religious and the

novices, and students were admitted to them in the afternoons and evenings. At one of these he described the entrance into the Order of their old Master the Blessed Reginald. Amongst those youths who followed the course may be mentioned Jordan of Saxony, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Theology, and Sub-deacon, who pursued his studies at the University. It was not long before he felt the influence of St Dominic and placed himself under his spiritual direction. He wished, he says later, to make his confession to him, and by his advice he received the diaconate. The following Lent (March 1220) he took the habit of the Friars Preachers, and soon after succeeded the blessed saint as Master General.

It was during St Dominic's stay in Paris, and no doubt by his orders, that the monks of St Jacques set forth to found fresh convents at Limoges, Rheims, Metz, Poitiers and Orleans. Peter Seila received from him formal directions to continue the propaganda of the Order at Limoges: "He urges his ignorance, his scanty supply of books, possessing only a copy of the 'Homilies of St Gregory.' 'Go, my son, go with all confidence,' replies the Master, 'twice a day you will be present with me in my prayers. Do not falter, you will gain many souls to the Lord and produce much fruit.'" Two years before at Prouille the saint had, with the same confidence, proceeded to disperse his religious.

After a sojourn of several weeks in Paris, he took for travelling companions William of Montferrat and the lay brother Friar John, and set out again

for Italy. To follow with exactness the itinerary of those who travel on foot is not easy. According to some traditions they seem to have stopped at Châtillon-sur-Seine and at Avignon, thus skirting the valleys of the Seine, Saône, and the Rhine, reaching the Po valley by way of Mont Genève. An account by Gérard de Frachet mentions on the contrary the crossing of the Lombardy Alps, presupposing a journey through Geneva, past the abbey of San Moritz, the Simplon and the valley of the Ticino. Local traditions speak of the foundation by the saint on this journey of many Piedmont and Lombardy convents, in particular those of Asti and Bergamos. What is certain is the fact of his having passed several days at Milan, where he once more accepted the hospitality of the canons of San Nazario. He took advantage, as his habit was, of this short visit to preach, and he gained for his Order three jurisconsults of reputation, Amizo di Solero, Guido di Sexto, and Roger di Merato.

From Milan St Dominic went to Bologna, where he arrived in July 1219,¹ eight months after leaving it for France and Spain. He remained there long enough to train the religious he destined for new houses, and after having dispersed them over Lombardy, Milan, Bergamo, Asti, Verona, Florence and Placenza he went to Viterbo to the Pontifical Court. After a short stay in Florence, where he

¹ This absolutely certain fact proves the falseness of the tradition reported by Wadding (*Annales Fratrum minoruman*, 1219), according to which St Dominic is said to have once more met St Francis at the Franciscan Chapter of Nattes held at Portioncula near Assisi during the feast of Pentecost, 1219.

visited the new convent (and where several fresh professions were made) he reached the Papal Court in the month of November 1219. Honorius III. showed him his usual kindness, and on November 15 gave him fresh Bulls for the extension of the Order in Spain, settling the dispute which had arisen in Paris between the Chapter of Notre-Dame and the convent of St Jacques to the advantage of the Friars Preachers (1st to 11th December 1219), confirming them in the possession of the church of St Sixtus in Rome (December 17), and addressing warmly complimentary letters to all those who had in Bologna, Paris, or in Spain, assisted the Dominican foundations (February, March 1200). From Viterbo St Dominic went to Rome towards the Christmas of 1219, to prepare for the transference of the religious to Santa Sabina; at the beginning of May 1220 he returned to Viterbo, where the Pope gave him letters of recommendation to the archbishop of Tarragona, and about May 12 he set out for Bologna, where he was to preside at a meeting of the General Chapter convoked for the feast of Pentecost.

This important assembly detained the saint in the town during the end of May and the first days of June, and left him more than ever possessed by the preaching fever. Lombardy now offered him as vast a field of action as Languedoc had in the past. Passing through it on his return to France, the spread of heresy and the progress of religious indifference alarmed him. The wealth of its towns, by developing the taste for luxury, was an encourage-

ment to vice. By way of Venice and the other Adriatic ports it was open not only to merchandise but to the heterodox doctrines of the East. In fact, for several centuries the great northern cities of Italy had been showing their distrust of papal authority, either when the archbishops of Milan had risen against the much needed reforms of Gregory VII., or when from Brescia there arose angry protests from Arnold against the temporal power of the popes and bishops. The heresy of the Patarins and Catharists had developed in these large centres. Thence the Perfect and the Faidis of the county of Toulouse derived their ideas. The registers of the Inquisition of Toulouse mention continuous relations between the Manicheans in France and those in Lombardy.

After having employed ten years of his youth in fighting the Albigenses, St Dominic was anxious to devote his middle age to preaching the truth to the Lombard heretics, especially after the Chapter General had convinced him that his Order was definitely established and organised. He must have confided these projects to the Pope before his departure for Bologna, for on May 12, 1220, Honorius III. wrote a letter on this subject, most certainly inspired by St Dominic. He ordered several religious from the abbeys or priories of San Vittorio, Sillia, Mansu, Floria, Vallombrosa and Aquila, to give themselves up to preaching in the different Italian provinces under the direction of the Master General of the Friars Preachers.¹ "Since he believes," he wrote to them, "that you will

¹ Balme *op. cit.* v. iii.

obtain good fruit by employing to your neighbours' profit the gift of preaching bestowed on you by Providence, we command and order you to go with this same Dominic and proclaim the Word of God to whom he may think fit, to the end that by the light of the truth preached by you to them, the lost may again find the right way. . . . We give you to the said friar that you may, in the habit proper to your Order, be his fellow-workers in the ministry of the Divine Word."

Honorius III. wished to create in Italy, under St Dominic's direction, an important mission similar to the one organised by the Cistercian abbots in Languedoc in 1204. Unfortunately, the scheme remained a mere project. The Master General of the Order of Friars Preachers at least tried to put it into execution with no other aid than that of his friars. After the meeting of the Chapter at Bologna he set out for Lombardy, taking with him a number of his religious, and devoted the energies of his last years to the evangelisation of that part of the country. We find him at Milan on June 11, the feast of St Barnabas, detained by an attack of fever. He had hardly recovered when he successively passed through the countries of Parma and Modena, where he received into the Order Albert Boschetti; Mantua, Verona and Padua, where he gave the habit to John of Vicenza; and Cremona, where he met his friend and rival in sanctity, St Francis.

At his convent in Bologna he spent the feast of the Assumption and made it an opportunity for

giving his religious a fresh lesson on the spirit of poverty. During his absence Brother Raoul, the procurator, had enlarged the cells, for he found them—not without reason—inconvenient and inadequate, and had raised them by a cubit. When on his return St Dominic saw the changes that had taken place he was scandalised, severely reprimanded the procurator and the other monks, and, weeping, said to them: “Alas! are you in such haste to give up poverty, and to rear magnificent palaces!” By his order the work was stopped and remained unfinished till his death.¹

Towards the end of August he again began to preach in Romagna and in Lombardy, visiting in turn Forli, Faenza, Brescia and Bergamos and again staying in Florence, where his sermons in the church of San Gallo produced much fruit. We have few authentic details about these missions. The confessor of St Catherine of Siena, Raymond of Capua, wrote at the end of the fourteenth century, that more than a hundred thousand heretics were converted by the teaching and the miracles of the saint, and that this was proved in the process of canonisation. This testimony of a later age is the only one that tells of such wonderful results.

From Florence Dominic returned to Rome. He arrived there at the beginning of December 1220 and remained till the end of 1221. As his habit was, he made use of the papal favour for the further consolidation of the Order of Friars Preachers by obtaining fresh privileges and secur-

¹ *Acts of Bologna.*

ing the permanence of the Roman convents. Three consecutive bulls dated January 18, February 4, and March 29 again commended the Dominicans to the Prelates of the Universal Church. The last deserves special mention, because it proves the growing favour in which the people held the Preachers. The Pope was obliged to denounce persons who, to gain the confidence of the faithful, pretended to belong to the Order; "because vice at times wears the cloak of virtue, and the angel of darkness may assume the appearance of an angel of light, we warn and command you by these presents, that if unknown persons, falsely calling themselves Friars Preachers, under pretext of announcing the Word of God, attempt to collect money to the dishonour and prejudice of the true apostles of poverty, you may take care to have such persons arrested and severely punished as impostors."¹

At Rome St Dominic met the friend of his youth, Foulques, bishop of Toulouse. "How delightful must have been the communion of these two men!" says Lacordaire, writing on the subject. "The holy hopes they had together entertained God had crowned with unheard of success; they had seen the office of Preacher exalted in the Church by an Order of religious already dispersed from one end of Europe to another, they who had so often talked of the necessity for re-establishing the apostolate! The part they had played in this great work did not tempt them to pride, but their joy in the Church's glory was in proportion to their

¹ *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. iii.

sympathy in her trials.”¹ They made use of this chance meeting for the amicable settlement of their dispute about tithes. St Dominic gave up what Foulques had already given him, and in exchange Foulques surrendered to the Order the church of Notre Dame de Fanjeaux, which was afterwards assigned to the monastery of Prouille (April 17, 1221).

The blessed Dominic at the same time watched over the interests of his beloved Roman nuns. At his request Honorius III., in a bull of April 25, 1221, united to the monastery of St Sixtus the property of Santa Maria beyond the Tiber, of Santa Bibiana, and of all the convents whose sisters had been transferred to St Sixtus. Besides this, St Dominic also collected for them important donations; a rich Roman, Master Cencius Rampazoli, giving up to them through his influence the sum of £1090.²

Meanwhile the second general meeting of the Chapter was, as in the preceding year, to take place at Bologna during the feast of Pentecost (May 30, 1221), and St Dominic went to preside at the business of the assembly. In June 1221 he took another journey to see Cardinal Ugolino in Venice. On his return to Bologna he was attacked by the disease destined to put an end to his energy and his life.

¹ *Vie de Saint Dominique*, p. 287.

² Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, 4th August.

CHAPTER VII

ORGANISATION OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER

A BUSIER time than the four last years of the life of St Dominic, from 1218-1221, cannot be easily imagined. Journeys, foundations, visits to monasteries, preaching, negotiations with the Pope, with prelates and princes, and sending out missionaries to distant places occupied by turns, and sometimes at once, his untiring energy. How, one is tempted to ask, could a single person make head against so many and such varied responsibilities? And yet to these numerous duties others must be added. The chief event of the last two years was the holding of the general Chapters of 1220 and 1221.

When they separated after the assembly of Prouille the friars had no rule but that of St Augustine, to which were added some particular laws framed by St Dominic according to circumstances. But as the Order grew it was deemed necessary to give it a general constitution by coordinating the separate rules. Serious differences of opinion on various points had arisen between the friars; to avoid disputes and settle difficulties by a general assembly seemed urgent. In spite of the full powers he had received from the Holy

See, the blessed saint refused to make laws without consulting his friars; and it was to take counsel with them that, on the Feast of Pentecost 1220, he convoked a general assembly at Bologna. There is no document to show which Fathers took part in this first great meeting of the Order, but it is probable that each convent sent its Prior, assisted by one of his religious. Jordan of Saxony, who had only recently taken the Dominican habit, and with him Matthew of France, no doubt represented the Paris house.

The first sitting was marked by a moving scene. "The friars," says Thierry of Apoldia,¹ "were only just assembled when Dominic, that servant of Christ, said to them: 'I am an unworthy and useless friar, I deserve to be deposed.' And thus he, who surpassed them all in holiness and influence, humbled himself before them all." As they refused to accept his abdication he, with their consent, decided that henceforth definitors should be chosen who should have full authority over the Order during the Chapter. As soon as they were appointed the Master General completely effaced himself. "As long as the meeting lasted he was merely one of the friars. If he took the first place it was only in abstinence, vigils, fasting and maceration, setting himself above none, except in holiness and humility."

Little is known as to the deliberations of this Chapter. We do not even possess the constitutions which were agreed on. The oldest we have are those promulgated in 1228 by Jordan of Saxony and revised

¹ Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, 4th August.

later by St Raymond of Pennaforte. If we may, however, believe the Dominican historian Bernard Guidonis, most of the rules of the Order were laid down in 1220.¹

They were not entirely new. Besides being suggested by the Rule of St Augustine, they also recalled those of many other great religious Orders with which circumstances had made St Dominic acquainted. Humbert de Romanis had about 1240 already pointed out where the Friars Preachers had borrowed from the constitutions of the Premonstratensian Fathers: "Nothing could be sounder or more opportune than such a preference," he adds, "for the Premonstratensians reformed and perfected the Rule of St Augustine as the Cistercians did the rule of St Benedict. The austerity of their life, the beauty of their Rule and observances, and the government of a multitude of friars by means of general Chapters and canonical visitations set them in the first rank of this Order. For this reason the blessed Father Dominic and his friars, not having been able to obtain from the Sovereign Pontiff the full rigour of the new Rule which they had in their ardour desired, decided to borrow from St Norbert everything they could find that was austere, beautiful and prudent, everything which they in fact believed to be suitable to the end in view."² *Les Us et Cou-*

¹ "Multa etiam fuerunt statuta ibidem, quæ usque hodie in Ordine observantur." (Martène, *Amplissima collectio*, vol. vi. p. 403.)

² Cf. In the *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique*, vol. ii. p. 23, the interesting comparison given by Balme between the constitutions of the Premonstratensians and of the Dominicans.

tumes de Cluny and the Cistercian institutes also supplied some features of the Dominican Rule.

Before proceeding to draw up his Rule St Dominic wished to preserve his religious from a too judaic interpretation of his directions, thus proving his large-mindedness. "The Blessed St Dominic in the chapter-house of Bologna declared for the comfort of the weaker brethren that even the rules do not always bind under pain of sin, and that if he could think otherwise he would go to every cloister and hack them to pieces with his knife; and Master Humbert added: "The friar who heard this from the saint's own lips repeated it to me."¹ And yet we know how well St Dominic loved regularity and how scrupulously he himself observed the constitutions of his Order!

A liturgical text of the office of St Dominic well resumes the spirit of his Rule. "*Virum canonicum auget in apostolum*: he has raised the canon to the dignity and functions of an apostle. Étienne de Salagnac wishing to describe his Order arrives at the conclusion that the true Dominican is 'a canon by profession, a monk in the austerity of his life, and an apostle by his office of preacher."

The Friars Preachers were canons regular in their religious observances. St Dominic insisted on their presence in the choir; Stephen of Spain in his deposition shows him "attending Divine office with them, passing from one side of the choir to the other, exhorting them to sing with energy and devotion." "As soon as they wake and rise the

¹ *Ibidem*, vol. ii. p. 20.

friars shall together recite the matins of the Blessed Virgin according to the season, and then repair to the choir." In the choir, too, the different canonical hours had to be repeated, from matins, which were sung in the night, to compline, which was immediately followed by the bed hour; in the choir, too, the conventual mass was to be celebrated as distinguished from the private masses said by each priest religious. The prayers said in common did not, however, dispense them from "holy meditation and private prayer, which are to be encouraged and never to be omitted, for such devotions are a sure proof of holiness." "To further encourage them," says Galvano Fiamma,¹ "there was in each cell an image of the Blessed Virgin and a crucifix, so that at prayer, at study, or at rest, the religious might contemplate them and be in turn contemplated by the All-Merciful Eye: for the image of the Crucified One is the book of life opened, to which we must often raise our eyes and from whence comes succour from on high."

The Friars Preachers were monks by reason of their three vows, of chastity, obedience, and poverty. St Dominic attached great importance to the first. He was severe with the religious whose purity could be assailed by the shadow of a temptation. With strong discipline he triumphantly drove forth from them the demon of impurity. With the same zeal he strove to maintain the habit of obedience in the Order, and he easily succeeded, thanks to the irresistible influence of his disposition and his holiness

¹ Balme, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 23 and following.

But he above all things upheld the spirit of poverty, thus resembling the great founders of Orders who had proceeded him. To St Benedict the unpardonable sin in a monk was the crime of property, and his disciple, St Gregory the Great, shows in his *Dialogues* by terrible examples how the violation of the rule of monastic poverty is detested by God. St Dominic also attacked "the vice of property" with peculiar hatred. The friars who accepted a personal gift, however small, were subject to the severest penalties. "A friar of Bologna," writes Gérard de Frachet,¹ "had without leave accepted a piece of stuff of no value. Reginald as soon as he heard of it ordered him the discipline in Chapter and directed that the stuff should be burned in the cloister in the presence of the whole community. As the culprit, far from acknowledging his sin and humbling himself, rebelled, the man of God ordered the religious to prepare him forcibly for the discipline. Then raising his tearful eyes to heaven he said: 'Lord Jesus, Who gavest Thy servant Benedict power to cast out by discipline the devil from the heart of one of his monks, grant by the virtue of this discipline that the soul of this brother may be delivered from a devilish temptation.' He then administered so tremendous a discipline that the other religious could not restrain their tears. But the monk, himself weeping, answered, 'Thanks, Father, for thou hast in truth cast the devil out of my body!' After this he became an excellent and humble friar." St Dominic did not seek to impose the vow of

¹ *Vita Fratrum* (ed. cit.), p. 152.

poverty on individuals only, but on the convents also. Whatever may have been said on this subject, the founder of the Order of Friars Preachers shared the views of St Francis. Like him, he wished to found a Begging Order which should, at the most, possess humble shelters for its religious, obliging them to throw themselves for everything else on Providence and the charity of man.

But of all the monastic vows the one hardest to keep is the vow of poverty. Rare indeed are the Orders who have throughout their history preserved their original poverty and who practise it individually and collectively. Many are those for whom on the contrary riches have proved an irremediable cause of decay and death. Even the Franciscans themselves have not entirely escaped the contagion of gold, in spite of the mystical marriage of their father with Poverty. Therefore, it is not surprising that St Dominic should have, even in the bosom of his Order, met with keen opposition. According to a Bolognese chronicler of the fifteenth century, the Dominican Borselli,¹ it was precisely to overcome these objections that he convoked the Chapter

¹ It may be objected that the testimony of Borselli is more than two hundred years later than the incidents it relates. It is valuable, however, because it agrees while giving more details, with certain older testimony such as that of Gérard de Frachet, Bernard Guidonis, the *Acts of Bologna*, which all mention the peculiar love of poverty which distinguished St Dominic, and make it easy to guess at the opposition he must have met with in his own household against the realisation of this ideal. Besides, it must not be forgotten that Borselli was a religious at the convent of Bologna and that he carefully informs the reader that he quotes from ancient documents taken from the archives of the monastery.

General of 1220. "At this time the friars who were in the districts of Toulouse and Albi, despising the habit revealed by the Blessed Virgin, adopted the use of the surplice; they spent money freely, travelled on horseback, paying small heed to the rules and utterances of the blessed Dominic. When Honorius III. heard of it he gave the saint full authority over the whole Order. St Dominic then paid still more particular attention to the practice of poverty, and to spread it he convoked a Chapter General of all his friars at Bologna."

He had at the same time formally forbidden them to accept landed property, making it a duty to alienate what they already possessed, or that it should be given to the women's monasteries. Many religious from the south of France went to Bologna, if we may believe Borselli, prepared to protest against the Draconian rules of their master, and even, if need were, to appeal against them to the Roman Curia. They arrived with well filled purses, on splendid horses, which they took care to secrete in the hostelries of the town before they sought St Dominic. But as soon as he heard of it he took away all the money they had brought, and instituted a careful search in every inn in Bologna to recover and confiscate the horses. He then had them sold to the highest bidder in the public square, and the price they fetched went to the keeping up of the Chapter General.

At the first sessions St Dominic obliged the assembly to renew the law against landed property: "The friars decided to have no immovable posses-

sions, and lest the office of preaching should be impeded by the care of earthly goods they were in the future to have only income." Their conventual houses and their churches were all they kept. A citizen of Bologna, Oderic Gallitiani, had presented the convent of the town with an estate: it was returned to him and the deed of donation was torn up by the Master in the sight of the Chapter.

St Dominic, according to Borselli, wished to do even more. When he found it impossible to induce the religious to live, not on fixed revenues, but merely on alms collected day by day, he wanted at least to forbid the priests to take part in the temporal administration of the monasteries, that they might be entirely devoted to study, meditation and preaching. He made a formal proposal to give up to lay brothers the charge of the money belonging to the convents. The rest of the friars opposed this; alleging, not without reason, that after having so acted the professed members of the Order of Grammont had been oppressed by the lay brothers, who would give no statement of their receipts or expenses, would bear no reprimands, and even took upon themselves to teach and reprove them. It was decided that the friars should have authority even on temporal questions, and that if they intrusted the administration to lay brothers, the latter should be forced to produce accounts.¹ Again on this point St Dominic was obliged to make concessions

¹ "Ordinatum est ut conversi singulis suis majoribus rationem reddant *et agantur potius quam agant.*"

to the Chapter and to sacrifice a part of his ideal of absolute poverty.

All that he could obtain was that rules for a frugal and modest conventual life should be made. "It was decided," says Borselli, "that the friars were to have houses of a poor appearance, common clothing, and narrow cells without wooden doors."—"Our brothers," say the original Constitutions, "shall have humble and modest dwellings, their walls not to exceed twelve feet in height or twenty, including the upper floor."¹

The chapel was also to have the same aspect of poverty, and in this matter St Dominic revived for his Order the austere Rule St Bernard had laid on the Cistercians. The church was to be of moderate height, never exceeding thirty feet, the roof not to be supported by stone vaulting but by plain rafters, and marbles and mosaics were to be severely excluded. "He was most careful," declares Friar Amizo, that no purple or silken stuffs should be placed there, not even on the altar; nor, excepting the chalices, gold or silver vessels."

Outside the convent the poverty of the friars was to be even more rigorous. They were forbidden to ride, they were to set off without money, and to live on alms. When the prior received a novice he was to give him special instructions in this austere custom. "St Dominic never failed to remind his

¹ We borrow these quotations from the chronicle of Borselli, the greater part of it unpublished, preserved in the University library at Bologna; and the *Analecta Ordinis Prædicatorum*, published by the Rev. Father Monthon, vol. iii. p. 608.

friars that they belonged to a begging order, that public charity should supply not their general resources only, but their daily bread."

The rule of silence is essentially monastic. To the nuns at Madrid St Dominic had specially recommended it. He impressed it on all the convents of the Order; except during certain fixed hours the friars were to preserve it unbroken.

Abstinence and fasting united to prayer and silence had been from the time of Pope Pelagius the essence of the monastic life. St Dominic obliged the Chapter General of Bologna to make severe rules on the subject. Fasting was ordered from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14) till Easter, and on every Friday.¹ The vow of abstinence was perpetual. "Never," says Friar Ventura, "did the saint, even on his journeys, eat meat nor any dish containing animal substance, and he made his friars do likewise. The only exception was in favour of the sick and aged, who might in the infirmary eat meat, or break their fast." The friars who waited on them were to be exact in this rule, as the following story told by Gérard de Frachet proves. "There was at Bologna," he says, "an infirmary brother, who without leave sometimes ate what remained of the invalids' meat. Now one day the Devil got hold of him and he began to shriek fearfully. The blessed father hastened to him and 'filled with compassion for one so afflicted' took the Devil to task for having entered the body

¹ Borselli: "Item jejunium a festo S. Crucis usque ad Pascham et jejunium feria sexta tenendum statuerunt."

of one of his sons. The Devil excused himself in these words: 'He deserves it, for he has been secretly eating meat intended for the sick, contrary to the rules laid down in thy Constitution.'"¹ To take anything, even a glass of water, without permission, was absolutely forbidden.²

Every infringement of the Rule had to be confessed by the culprit before all the brothers assembled in Chapter; it was then punished by the prior. A story that reads like an apologue shows how much importance St Dominic attached to this practice, imitated from other and earlier monastic Orders. "One day," says Thierry d'Apoldia, "the saint was making the round of the city of God like a careful sentinel, when he met the Devil prowling about the convent like a beast of prey. He stopped him and said, 'Why dost thou prowl about in this manner?' 'Because of the advantage I gain by it,' replied the Devil. The saint asked him what he got from the dormitory. 'I drive away sleep from the brothers,' answered the Devil. 'I persuade them not to rise for Divine Office, and, when I can, I send them dreadful dreams and hallucinations.' The saint led him to the choir and asked, 'What profit gainest thou in this holy place?' He answered, 'I oblige them to come late, leave early, and to forget themselves.' When questioned about

¹ We purposely give many of these stories of diabolical possession, which are found in great numbers in the history of the Religious Orders; they frequently serve to give an exact notion of the monastic ideal by pointing out how the rule was at times broken.

² Borselli: "Interdixerunt omnem potum extra prandium."

the refectory he himself demanded, 'Who does not eat more or less than he ought?' When they reached the parlour, he said laughing: 'This is my domain; this is the place of laughter, of empty noise, of vain words.' But when they reached the chapter-house he ran away saying, 'This is for me an accursed spot: here I lose all I gain elsewhere; here the friars are warned of their sins; here they confess, do penance, and receive absolution.'"

The Dominicans were canons regular and begging friars, but above all things preachers, and, by their preaching, apostles. "Our Order has been specially founded for preaching and for the salvation of our neighbours," says Humbert de Romanis in his commentary on the Rule. "Our studies should tend principally, ardently, and above everything to make us useful to souls." This is why dispensations are permitted to modify canonical or monastic prohibitions where they might hinder the supreme end the Order should pursue. "In his convent," say the Constitutions, "the superior shall have power to give his friars dispensations when he thinks it expedient, especially where too great stringency might prevent study, preaching, or the good of souls, for," adds Humbert, "of all the works accomplished in the Order the best and most fruitful is the work of preaching. If some are saved by prayer and the other practices of the Order, how many are they compared to those who owe their salvation to preaching? It is in fact through preaching that the whole universe is brought under the yoke of Christ."

Study is indispensable to the preacher: "Of course," says Humbert, "it is not the chief end of the Order, but it is eminently necessary for preaching and redeeming souls; without it, we could do neither the one nor the other." The Constitutions of the Order foresaw cases where to forward the end in view, canonical and monastic observances must be mitigated: "The hours are to be recited briefly and fluently that they may not curtail the friars' hours of study. . . . Those suited to the office of preaching (the most important in the Order or rather in the Church of God) shall be employed in no other work. They are to be devoted to reading and study rather than to the singing of responses and anthems."¹

St Dominic recommended the study of the sciences and letters, and especially of theology and the Holy Scriptures: "I can affirm it," declares John of Navarre in the process of canonisation, "for I have often heard him say so."² He himself gave the example: he constantly took with him the Gospel of St Matthew and the Epistles of St Paul, and they were so much his own that he knew them by heart.³ Early traditions indeed attribute to him more than one treatise on the Scriptures. Besides his commentary on the Epistles of St Paul, on which he lectured at Rome in the apostolic palace, he would seem to have conducted conferences on the psalms and canonical epistles for the Friars of Bologna, and even to have written a com-

¹ Borselli, *Analecta O. P.* vol. iii. p. 609.

² *Acts of Bologna.*

³ *Ibidem.*

mentary on certain passages of the Gospel of St Matthew.

The convents were themselves real houses of study. The most important were established in the great University centres of the period, at Paris, Bologna, Palencia and Oxford, and the religious belonging to them soon mixed with the youth of the schools. Even within the monasteries themselves, regular morning courses of theology or Holy Scripture were instituted, which the whole household, even to the prior, were obliged to attend. The patron of the convent of St Jacques, Jean de Barastre, dean of St Quentin, not content with providing a house for the friars, gave lectures to them at their own convent. In 1220 Roland of Cremona taught there. The Chapter of Bologna released him from his duties and replaced him by Jordan of Saxony, "who explained the Gospel with great charm of manner,"² and from that time the Chapters General and Provincials adopted the custom of choosing the lecturers who were to direct the studies in each convent.

It was because, in their idea, the Dominicans should be above all things a learned Order, that St Dominic and his first companions sought recruits in the professorial and scholastic world. We have already seen how Matthew of France, in Paris, and Reginald, at Bologna, cast their nets into University

¹ Echard, *op. cit.* i. p. 88.

² Borselli: "In isto capitulo, absolutus fuit a lectura Parisiis frater Rolandus Cremonensis et substitutus est ei frater Jordanis Theutonicus, qui legit Evangelium gratiose. (*Analecta O. P.* vol. iii. p. 609.)

society. St Dominic did as much in Padua. "Attracted by the University which had been developed in that town,"¹ he went thither in 1220 and gained important recruits amongst the masters of the law schools.

Thanks to his labours he imprinted on his Order a scientific impulse which was preserved in the following centuries. From its bosom sprang, in the middle ages, the most illustrious doctors of the Church, and the most celebrated professors of the schools of theology and of law. It is enough to recall from the thirteenth century onwards, the great names of St Raymond of Pennaforte, Humbert de Romans, Albert the Great, Cardinal Hugh de St Cher, Pierre de Tarentaise, and especially the angel of the schools, St Thomas Aquinas.

When the religious were sufficiently prepared they were sent out to preach. Following the apostolic example they went two by two, "taking only the necessary food, clothing and books."² St Dominic had not forgotten the prejudices that, at the Lateran Council, many of the bishops had displayed against the projected Order. He therefore commanded his friars to show the utmost respect and obedience to the ordinaries of the places they came to evangelise. "When our friars enter a diocese to

¹ Borselli: "Anno usodem, B. Dominicus de Bononia ivit Paduam *propter studium quod ibi erat.*" (*Analecta O. P.* vol. iii. 611.)

² "Euntes ad prædicationes officium exercendum vel alias itinerantes aurum et argentum, pecuniam aut munera, exceptis victu et necessariis indumentis et libris, nec accipient nec, portabunt." *Analecta O. P.* vol. iii. p. 610.

preach they shall, if possible, begin by visiting the bishop, they shall follow his advice in their ministrations amongst his people, and so long as they are on his territory shall piously obey him in all things not contrary to the rules of the Order.”¹

Though there is no documentary evidence to prove it, it seems probable that the Chapter General of 1220 also busied itself about the women’s convents. It has been seen that many of these were successively established at Prouille, Rome, Madrid and Bologna, and that St Dominic had, some months earlier, already felt it necessary to draw up definite rules for them. These were certainly meant for the Sisters of St Sixtus, but were to be adopted by the Dominican nuns of other monasteries. If we may believe the testimony of St Antonius of Florence, “after having devoted the day to winning souls to God, by preaching, the office of confession, or works of mercy, St Dominic went to St Sixtus every evening, and there, in the presence of the friars, held a conference, or preached a sermon to instruct the sisters in the practices of the Order, for they had no other master to help them but himself.”

The Constitutions for the nuns were almost the same as for the friars, for St Dominic’s idea was that the men’s and women’s convents should form a single Order. The rule of St Augustine, the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, fasting and abstinence, the choir offices, the spiritual exercises,

¹ Balme, *op. cit.*, vol. iii.

the rule of silence, the chapters of the *Coulpe* were imposed on all. But since, in the case of the women, the end aimed at differed greatly from that assigned by the saint to his preachers, their Constitutions naturally underwent, on more than one point, important modifications. The friars combined the contemplative with the active life, giving more importance to the latter; the sisters, on the contrary, gave themselves up to contemplation alone. While the friars were to go into the highways and byways carrying the Word of God, the sisters were to remain perpetually cloistered. An act of 1425, preserved in the archives of Aude in the department of Prouille, calls them recluse and as though imprisoned (*muratæ, incærceratae*) in their convents; they never pass beyond the cloister, the refectory, the dormitory, the church and their convent walls, nor will they ever, till on the day of judgment the divine command shall be heard, "Come, ye blessed of my Father and receive the crown prepared for you from the foundation of the world!" "No sister," say the Constitutions, "shall leave the house where she has made her profession, unless she is for some necessary purpose transferred from it to another convent of the same Order." The cloister was inviolable, and could only be broken in the case of cardinals, papal legates, or the dignitaries of the Order when proceeding to the canonical visitations of the monastery. The sisters were not to hold communication with strangers, even their confessors, except behind the grating. Behind these bars they listened to the sermons addressed to them.

The Carmelite is the only other rule that gives any idea of so severe a seclusion.¹

The sisters, as perpetual recluses, might not beg as the friars did; they could only receive what alms came to them, and as this resource was uncertain their convents necessarily acquired landed property. But St Dominic, though he allowed the sisters to possess property, did not permit them to administer it lest by temporal cares they might be drawn from the contemplation of divine things. This responsibility was intrusted to friars. Near every convent of nuns he established a men's monastery. They were intrusted with the spiritual and temporal care of the Sisters: some were to say mass, to receive confessions, and give pious exhortations; others—and they were generally lay brothers—had charge of the property and managed the material side of life.

The sisters being vowed to the contemplative life, could not hope to lead the same active existence as the friars. St Dominic was, however, anxious to preserve them from idleness, "because it is," said he, "the mortal enemy of the soul, and the mother and nurse of every vice."—"No sister shall remain idle in the cloister; she must if possible be always at work, for temptation does not easily master those usefully occupied. The Lord decreed that in the sweat of his brow should man eat

¹ At Rome, the religious of the S.S. Dominic and Sixtus, near the Quirinal, still possess the grating which St Dominic had had placed in the convent of St Sixtus close to the Appian Way.

bread, and the apostle that he who would not work neither should he eat. Also the prophet has said, "Because thou eatest of the fruit of thy hands it shall be well with thee, and happy shalt thou be." This is why, out of the hours devoted to the preparation of Divine service, to singing, and to the study of books, the sisters shall all carefully apply themselves to manual work as the prioress may command." A document of 1340, preserved in the archives of Aude,¹ proves that at Prouille, in the fourteenth century, this rule was carefully observed. "Every year," says the procurator of the convent to the provincial who visits it, "a hundredweight of clean, carefully chosen wool is distributed to the sisters. They spin and weave it when not engaged in the Divine offices, and this they do according to the old custom and the definite command of our father St Dominic, who insisted on it in order to drive away idleness, the mother of all the vices." On feast days, when manual labour was forbidden, reading took its place.

All these observances were fully carried out for the spiritual good of the sisters who, freed from all material cares, lived only for prayer, meditation on holy things, study and work. Placed "under the rule and guardianship of the Friars Preachers," they obeyed freely elected prioresses who were themselves under the orders of the prior of the friars, and the

¹ It is the procès-verbal of the canonical visit which was made in 1340 at Prouille and its dependencies by the prior provincial of Toulouse, Friar Pierre Guy. We are preparing an edition of it in collaboration with the Rev. Father Balme. It will follow the publication of our *Cartulaire de N. D. de Prouille, from 1206 to 1340*.

higher dignitaries of the Order. The two great branches of the Dominican family were thus united.

Did St Dominic himself create a third branch by instituting a third Order? This important question after having been examined by the Bollandists with their usual acumen still provides the learned with points for research.¹ The question to be decided is, how far the founder of the Order of Friars Preachers meant to associate the laity with his work. It seems more and more likely that the merit of this foundation should be attributed to the saint, but to fix the exact date is not easy. Towards 1380, Raymond of Capua writes that Dominic had founded the Third Order in Lombardy during the preachings he held there in the last years of his life. "In these countries," he says, "heresy had so corrupted souls with its poisonous teachings that in a number of places the laity had seized on Church property, and had transmitted it to their heirs as though it were private estate. Reduced to beggary, the bishops could neither combat error, nor assure the subsistence of their priests. The blessed father could not bear the spectacle of their misfortunes, and though he had chosen poverty for his disciples, he fought to preserve its riches to the Church. He summoned to himself some of the God-fearing laity with whom he was acquainted, and arranged with them that they should stir up a holy militia to

¹ We do not pretend to settle a question so delicate and complex as this, for in itself it deserves deep study. We must be content to supply two elements of the problem, without attempting to solve it.

work for the restoration and defence of the rights of the Church and valiantly resist heresy. After having obtained an oath from those whom he recruited for this object, he began to be afraid that their wives might prevent them from working at so holy an enterprise; he therefore exacted from them a promise that, far from influencing their husbands against such an undertaking, they would help them. To those who so bound themselves the saint promised eternal life, and named them Brothers of the Militia of Jesus Christ.”¹

It is certain that this society spread more especially in Lombardy, and particularly when, some years later, the preaching of Peter the Martyr in that country had given it a fresh impetus; but may we not believe that its creation dated further back, and that St Dominic, having all his life fought the heretics, is likely to have thought of it before his latest years? This is all the more probable as a writer, a contemporary of the saints, William of Puylaurens, speaks of the existence at Toulouse of a similar society from the beginning of the crusade against the Albigenses.² “With true episcopal zeal,” he says, “Foulques wished the orthodox people of the Toulousain to participate in the indulgence granted to the foreign crusaders by binding them still more closely to the Church and launching them to the assault of heresy. To this end, by the grace of God and with the help of the legate, he instituted at Toulouse a great confraternity whose members

¹ Raymond of Capua, mentioned by the Bollandists.

² William of Puylaurens, quoted by the Bollandists.

were marked by a cross. Everyone in the city, with only a few exceptions, joined, and adhesions also came from the suburbs. He united them all in the service of the Church by a common oath, and gave them as sureties Aymeric de Castelnau, surnamed Cofa, and his brother Arnold, both knights, Peter of St Romanus and Arnold Bernard, says Endura, all men of energy, discretion and power." The name of St Dominic is certainly not mentioned in this passage, but if we remember that in all apostolic work Dominic and Foulques were always so much united that historians have frequently attributed to the one the creations of the other;¹ if we also remember that the Dominicans, only a few years later, spread over Lombardy and the Universal Church an institution in all respects similar, we may conclude that the founder of the Friars Preachers was no stranger to the creation of the confraternity of Toulouse.

The Militia developed rapidly, adding to the Order thousands of persons of both sexes, of every age and condition, making the action of St Dominic still vaster and deeper in its consequences. The laity were henceforth his co-workers, and the word of command given to them was soon passed on into the bosom of family life and elsewhere. The Tertiary indeed wore the badge of the Order, submitted to peculiar religious practices, and adopted a more austere way of life, yet remained in the world: the husband kept his wife, the wife her husband, the artisan his trade, the professor his chair, the official his office. Sovereigns and cardinals might disguise the habit

¹ The foundation of Prouille has been attributed to Foulques.

of the Tertiary under the royal mantle or the purple. But to whatever class he belonged, whatever his position, the Tertiary was obliged to take his orders from the friars and to execute them in his own sphere of action, and in his own way. As the name suggested, this society was indeed a Militia of which the religious were the invisible but always active chiefs. "In creating the Friars Preachers," says Lacordaire,¹ "Dominic drew from the desert a monastic phalanx and girded them with the apostolic sword. The creation of the third Order introduced the religious life into the heart of domestic existence, and the nuptial bed. The world became peopled with young women, widows, married folk and men of all ages who publicly wore the badge of a religious Order, and secretly in their homes were assiduous in its practices. . . . To emulate the saints it was no longer deemed necessary to fly the world; any room might be a cell, every house a Thebaid. The history of this institution is as beautiful as anything ever written. It produced saints in every walk of life, from the throne to the footstool, in such abundance that the cloister and the wilderness might well have been jealous."

Such was the Order, and such its nature, with its three great bodies attached together in a close hierarchy; its rules and observances held in degrees of varying severity, to encourage in some an active life, in others one of contemplation; a vast but harmonious system where the most ardent mysticism

¹ *Vie de St Dominique*, p. 282.

was allied with practical common sense, where people worked at once and with the same zeal for their own, and their neighbour's salvation. It was in fact a perfect reproduction, in the lives of thousands, of a unique example—the founder of the Order,—St Dominic himself.

To make the work lasting, it was necessary to provide for the regularity of its functions. Unforeseen circumstances might call for fresh rules, temporary or permanent; for negotiations or exceptional measures. The fathers who gathered in Bologna in 1220 under the presidency of their Master decided that to settle important questions of general interest, a Chapter of the whole Order should be henceforth held annually in one of the two great Dominican centres, Paris and Bologna.¹ That the institution could not always preserve intact the austerity and rigour of its early days, that abuses would surely creep into the general structure of the work, and into each of its parts, had to be remembered. The Master General, with the visitors he was to send to the provinces and the convents, were to watch over this. Lastly, as the number of monasteries increased every year, they were to be welded together in the close bands of a firm hierarchy by the introduction of intermediaries between them and the Master. To this task the second Chapter, again held in Bologna in May 1221, under the direction of St Dominic, was especially devoted. The documents connected with this assembly have not come down to us any more than those of the first Chapter.

¹ Later, other towns might be chosen for the holding of Chapters.

We know, however, that the Dominican monasteries were grouped into eight provinces having each a provincial at its head, an intermediary between the monasteries under his jurisdiction and the Master General. They were Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, Hungary and England; and they had as provincials Suéro Gomez, Bertrand of Garrigua, Matthew of France, Jordan of Saxony, John of Placenza, Conrad the Teutonic, Paul of Hungary, and Gilbert de Frassinet.¹

The Order was now definitely organised, and without fear of compromising its prosperity St Dominic might have left it to itself as he had wished to do in 1220, to seek the barbarous Cuman Tartars whose apostle it had been the dream of his life to become. But Providence did not allow it. St Dominic had finished the earthly task allotted to him. Nothing remained for him but to receive from Heaven the reward of his merits.

¹ Echard, vol. i. p. 20; B. Gui. *Brevis historia, O. P.*; (*Ampl. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 350).

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEATH AND CANONISATION OF ST DOMINIC

WHEN from Venice St Dominic returned to the Bologna monastery towards the middle of July 1221, he was already attacked by the disease destined to carry him off.¹ He suffered from extreme lassitude and frequent attacks of fever. His exhaustion was forgotten on his arrival, in conversation with the prior, Friar Ventura, and the procurator, Friar Rudolfo, on the affairs of the convent, till the night was far spent. In spite of their entreaties he attended matins, and prayed all night as was his custom. Then violent pains in his head obliged him to fling himself on the sack of wool which served him for a bed. He was fated not to rise from it. The fever increased upon him rapidly, consuming his strength, and dysentery soon completed its work. Doctors were called in, but they declared there was no hope. He had himself no illusions, and he several times said he should not see the coming feast of the Assumption.

¹ We have made use in describing St Dominic's last hours of the depositions, made in 1232 in the inquiry for the process of canonisation by the Friars of Bologna, who had been with the Master during his last illness. Following Lacordaire's example we have been content with giving their own true as well as touching accounts.

He devoted his last days to giving his friars valuable advice. Many times he called the young novices to his side, and still preserving a serene countenance he exhorted them in "words of much gentleness" to observe the spirit of the Rule in all faithfulness. He then summoned twelve of the older friars and in their presence made a general confession of his life aloud to Ventura. Then addressing the religious he implored them to preserve their chastity: "God has in His mercy," he said to them, "kept me till this day in pure and unblemished virginity. If you desire the same grace, avoid any suspicious relations. It is by his care for this virtue that the servant becomes agreeable to God, and respected by his neighbour. Serve the Lord always in fervour of spirit; strengthen and extend our rising Order; be strong in holiness and in the observance of the Rule; grow in virtue!" Then, no doubt fearing he had indulged in self praise by speaking of his chastity in public, he continued: "Though Divine grace has preserved me from all stain till this very hour, I must confess that I have not entirely escaped the weakness of finding more pleasure in the conversation of young than of old women." Still fearing to have said too much he turned to his confessor and whispered: "Brother, I think I sinned in speaking of my virginity aloud. I should have been silent." Then growing still graver, and putting into his words the solemnity of a dying request, he added: "O my sons and brothers, this is the inheritance I leave you: have charity, keep humility, preserve voluntary poverty." He

then particularly insisted on the vow of poverty, explaining to his friars its importance in the religious life, and the prosperity of the Order. Becoming more and more eager, "he called down his curse, and that of the Almighty on any who should bestow worldly goods on the Friars Preachers, and so dim with earthly dross an Order destined to shine for ever by its poverty."

Though he suffered greatly he retained his customary serenity and playfulness. He never complained, no groan escaped him. To soothe his pain they took him away from the town to the heights of Santa Maria ai Monti where the air was purer and fresher. He was anxious to have some talk with the prior, who, at his summons, attended him accompanied by twenty monks anxious to listen once more to their father's counsels. In beautiful and touching words he spoke to them. When the parish priest of Santa Maria announced his intention of presiding at the saint's funeral and laying him in his church, St Dominic meekly begged that his tomb should be made under the feet of his brethren; and to ensure the execution of his wish, and that it might not give rise to any discussion, he had himself removed to the convent.

He was placed in Brother Monéta's cell. Friar Rudolfo the procurator never left him again, supporting his head, and constantly wiping away the drops of sweat that gathered on his brow. Around him stood the monks watching his holy agony with tearful eyes. St Dominic saw, and wished to comfort them: "Do not weep, my beloved sons, do not

grieve because my body must disappear from you. I am going where I can serve you better than I could here." One of the friars asked him where he wished to be buried, and he once more replied, "Beneath the feet of my Brothers."

The supreme moment drew nigh: for the last time the saint asked for the prior and the monks. "Father," the prior said to him, "you know in what desolation and sadness you leave us. Remember us before the Lord in prayer." And Dominic, already absorbed in God, raised his hands to heaven and said, "O Holy Father, I have accomplished Thy work with joy. I have carefully kept those whom Thou hast given me. Now to Thee I commend them, protect Thou them. Behold I come to Thee, O Heavenly Father." Then addressing the friars he said, "Begin." The religious at once began to recite the Prayer for the Recommendation of the Soul, broken by sobs and tears, whilst the saint, absorbed in contemplation, repeated them with a feeble motion of his lips. When at the end of the prayer they reached the words "Come to his assistance, ye saints of God; come forth to meet him, ye angels of the Lord, receiving his soul, offering it in the sight of the Most High," he raised his hands to Heaven and died. It was on Friday, August 6, 1221, and he had scarcely completed his fifty-first year.¹

¹ Bernard Guidonis remarks that the death of St Dominic was a last lesson in poverty. "He died," he says, "in Brother Monéta's bed because he had none of his own; and he died in Brother Monéta's tunic because he had not another with which to replace the one he had long been wearing." (Martène, *op. cit.* liv. vi. p. 339.)

That same day Friar Raoul was saying mass during a journey. At the moment when he was about to pray for St Dominic's recovery he fell into a trance and saw him shining in splendour, and crowned with gold, at the very time when the saint was dying at Bologna. Friar Rudolfo was proceeding with the burial rites while the monks droned out the canticles; but suddenly, says Lacordaire,¹ "a song of triumph succeeded to the funeral lamentations, an immense joy fell on them from heaven." The cult of the saint had begun before his burial!

When Cardinal Ugolino heard the news he hurried to Bologna, wishing to preside himself at the burial of one who had been his friend. After having been viewed by the people, the body of the saint was laid in a wooden coffin, carefully closed, and in the presence of the cardinal, of the Patriarch of Aquila, of bishops, abbés, and numbers of spectators, it was buried in the church of San-Nicola. The tomb was well sealed and they covered it with a heavy stone "to prevent a sacrilegious theft which a false devotion might inspire." This holy sepulchre became, before long, the scene of miracles.

Twelve years after, in 1233, the Apostolic See was occupied by Gregory IX., the great centenarian Pope, formerly Cardinal Ugolino. The increasing wonders which took place at San-Nicola attracted crowds of pilgrims to Bologna. The church could no longer hold the religious who flocked to it, and it had to be rebuilt. Jordan of Saxony, the Master General,

¹ *Vie de St Dominique*, p. 301.

decided to transfer the remains of his predecessor to a magnificent tomb. He himself presided at the ceremony on May 24, 1233, in the presence of numbers of friars who had come to Bologna for the General Chapter, of the archbishop of Ravenna, the bishops of Bologna, Brescia, Modena and Tournay,¹ of numerous lords, and a vast concourse of people. "Now," as he himself narrates, "the friars were in an agony of doubt—praying, paling, trembling. So long exposed to the rain and heat in a wretched grave,² would not the body of St Dominic emerge worm-eaten and exhaling an atmosphere of decay?" But, O marvel! "when the stone laid over the tomb was raised, a sweet and delectable fragrance spread from it, a fragrance that might have proceeded from a perfume box rather than a sepulchre. The archbishop, the bishops and all those present, filled with joy and wonder, fell on their knees weeping and praising God who had glorified His elect in so striking a manner." The coffin was opened and Jordan removed the bones and placed them in a pinewood coffer in a marble tomb. Eight days afterwards, at the request of the Podesta and the people, the tomb was once more opened, and one by one, the Master General and three hundred religious placed a last kiss on the withered brow of their father, retaining about them long afterwards something of the fragrance that emanated from the

¹ According to Bernard Guidonis (*Ampl. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 352). These bishops were sent to Bologna by Pope Gregory IX. : "Ad quam translationem convenerunt mandato domini Papæ Gregorii."

² During the restoration of the church, the tomb of St Dominic had remained in the open air.

precious relics. Gregory IX. decided to begin at once the process of canonisation of this servant of God. In a letter dated July 11, 1233, he named as Commissioners of Enquiry, Tancred, archdeacon of Bologna, and Thomas, prior of Santa Maria del Reno, also Palmiri, canon of the Trinity. During upwards of twenty days, from the 6th to the 30th of August, they received depositions on the life and miracles of the saint from religious who had been his companions, especially Friar Ventura, who had been present at his last hours, William of Montferrat, John of Navarre, Rudolfo of Faenza, Stephen of Spain, Paul of Venice, and many others who had accompanied him in his travels, or had lived in intimacy with him. A second Commission of Enquiry worked at Toulouse under the direction of the abbé of St Sernin and St Étienne. A number of witnesses spoke before the Commission of the life led by the saint in Languedoc, during his ten years of preaching against heresy. When the process was concluded Gregory IX. proclaimed the sanctity of Dominic, and in a solemn bull dated from Spoleto on July 13, 1234,¹ he made his cult obligatory in the Universal Church, and fixed his feast for the 5th of August.²

After having evoked in mystical language the

¹ Potthast, *Reg. pont. Rom.*, No. 9489, where the numerous editions of this bull of canonisation are indicated.

² The 6th of August, anniversary of the saint's death, could not be fixed because of the feast of the Transfiguration. Later, to give solemnity to the feast of Ste. Marie Aux Neiges (the dedicatee of Ste. Marie Majeure), Clement VIII. definitely settled St Dominic's a day earlier—the 4th August.

memory of the great founders of Orders, the Pope, in a few words, traced the life of St Dominic and paid a magnificent tribute to his holiness. "Whilst he was still young in years," he said, "he bore in his childish breast the heart of an old man; choosing a life of continual mortification he sought the Creator of all life; dedicated to God and vowed a Nazarene under the rule of St Augustine, emulating the zeal of Samuel for holy things, he recalled the holiness of Daniel by the zeal with which he chastened his desires. Strong as an athlete in the way of right and justice and the path of saints, never departing from the teachings and service of the Church militant, subjecting the body to the soul, the senses to reason, in spirit uniting himself to God, he strove to approach Him while he remained attached to his neighbour by the cords of a wise compassion. In the presence of this man, who trod under foot all carnal pleasures and pierced the stony hearts of sinners, the whole heretical sect trembled with fear, and the body of the saints with joy. He grew at once in age and in grace; experiencing an ineffable delight in the salvation of souls, he devoted his whole soul to God's Word and by it awoke thousands to life. . . . Raised to the dignity of pastor and guide among God's people, he, by his own efforts, established a new Order of Preachers, and he never ceased to strengthen it by sure and certain miracles. For besides the works of holiness and miracles of virtue which gave so much *éclat* to his earthly career, after his death he restored health to the afflicted, speech to the dumb, sight to the blind, hearing

to the deaf and power to the paralysed, thereby showing what kind of soul had dwelt in his body.

“Bound to us by ties of close friendship, when we were in a humbler state, he gave us by the testimony of his life certain proofs of holiness, afterwards confirmed by the truth of his miracles, reported to us by faithful witnesses. For this reason, and sharing with the people who are intrusted to us the certainty that by his aid God’s mercy may be moved, and that we shall rejoice to have in heaven the favour of one who has been our friend on earth, by the advice of our brothers and of all the prelates present in the Apostolic See, we have determined to add him to the number of the saints, summoning and ordering you¹ that at the nones of August, the eve of the day when, laying down his earthly body, and rich in grace, he entered into heavenly glory and became as other saints, you shall celebrate his feast and cause it to be celebrated with solemnity, so that God, touched by the prayers of him who living served Him, shall give us grace in this life and glory in the next. Desiring to do honour to the sepulchre of this great confessor, who glorifies the Church Universal by the wonder of his miracles, and to attract to it a concourse of pious Christians, we grant to all those who, having repented and confessed, shall each year visit it on his feast day with respect and devotion, by God’s mercy and the

¹ He addresses himself to the archbishops, abbés, and prelates of the Universal Church.

authority of his apostles Peter and Paul, a year of indulgence.”¹

Following the example of the Church, both literature and art strove to glorify St Dominic. A school of painters and sculptors developed in the bosom of the Order; so that books have been written on “the artists of the Order of Friars Preachers.” They devoted their genius to the glory of their father.

The tomb erected to him by Jordan of Saxony was soon thought unworthy so great a saint. The convent and commune of Bologna intrusted to the illustrious Nicola Pisano, and the Bolognese Dominican Fra Guglielmo the task of raising a splendid *Arca* to his memory in sculptured marble. The artists worked long at it, and at last on June 5, 1267, on the feast of Pentecost, in the presence of crowds of people, there was placed in the church of St Dominic at Bologna the tomb admired to this day. The plain sarcophagus containing the precious relics rested on rows of pillars. The two largest façades were each decorated with two bas-reliefs separated by statues, the one of Christ, the other of the Virgin; the ends having each only one bas-relief. The artist has represented the principal scenes from the saint’s life; the miracle at Fangeaux, the apparition of the apostles Peter and Paul, the vision and the call to the Order of the Blessed Reginald, and the raising to life of Napoleon Orsini, the nephew of the cardinal of Fossanova. The whole formed an *ensemble* of eighty figures. In this complete representation of contemporary events,

¹ Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. pars. i. p. 329.

and especially in the frontal reliefs, the master (Nicolas Pisano) has surpassed himself in the proportion of the figures, the life and movement, the amount of style and the elegance of the execution."¹ Fra Guglielmo, a less powerful artist, while working for the founder of his Order also showed himself at his best.

Fine though it was, even this tomb did not quite satisfy the veneration in which the Bolognese held St Dominic. In 1469 the commune voted 700 gold crowns for the work of producing a covering for the tomb. The work was intrusted to a pupil of Giacomo della Quercia, Nicolas di Barri, afterwards known as Nicola dell' Arca. He devoted to the work four years, from 1469 to 1473, and then left it unfinished. Vasari thought it divine. A succession of statues adorn the pyramidal roof of the tomb, representing an angel in prayer, St Francis of Assisi and St Dominic (two saints whom the people delighted to unite in a common worship), St Florian, St Agricola, St Vitalis, a descent from the cross between two angels, and the four evangelists; at the apex of the pyramid, presiding over this assemblage of saints, rises the severe and majestic statue of the Eternal Father. Nicola dell' Arca was succeeded in the work by Michael Angelo himself. The brother of a Dominican, the friend of the celebrated monk of San Marco, Savonarola—the great Florentine sculptor laid at the feet of St Dominic the homage of his genius. In 1492, he executed for his tomb a kneeling angel, a statuette

¹ Burkhardt, *Le Cictrone, Art Moderne (trad. franc.)*, p. 319.

of St Proclus, and another of St Petronius, the patron saint of Bologna. Finally the friend and fellow-worker of Michael Angelo, Alfonso Lombardi, finished this wonderful piece of work by carving the base on which the sarcophagus rested. In 1532 he represented on it in basso relievo the birth of St Dominic, the adoration of the Magi, and the triumph of St Dominic.¹

The primitive painters also devoted to the founder of the Order of Preachers some admirable frescoes on the walls of the Dominican cloisters, and some pictures full of grace and pious sentiment. At Santa Caterina of Pisa, Trains painted in the fourteenth century on a panel on a field of gold, a St Dominic standing, surrounded by eight scenes from his life. At Santa Maria Novella of Florence, Simone Memmi executed in the Spanish chapel the beautiful fresco representing the fierce struggle between Dominican theology and error, the dogs of the Lord (*Domini Canes*) against the wolves of heresy. But it was the great Dominican painter Fra Angelico who offered to his master the most Christian homage. St Dominic imposing the rule of silence, as he painted it over the door of the convent of San Marco, is a striking image of monkish austerity. And no one can forget the gracious scenes from the saint's life depicted by him at Cortona on the predella of the Gesù altar, and

¹ As to the tomb of St Dominic consult: Davia, *Memoria intorno all' Arca di S. Domenico*; R. P. Berthier, *Le tombeau de St Dominique*; *la Revue de l'art Chrétien*, "Le tombeau de St Dominique à Bologne," 1895, p. 456; Burkhardt, *Le Cicerone Art Moderne*, p. 319, 320, 404, 438, and following, and the general histories of Italian art.

the crucifixion of San Marco where St Dominic with the other founders of Orders is made to assist at the mystery of Calvary. Pisano, Lombardi, Michael Angelo, Memmi, Fra Angelico, these are bright rays in the glory of St Dominic!

Literature like art has glorified the memory of the founder of the Order of Friars Preachers. Countless panegyrics have proclaimed his sanctity, from the papal bull of Gregory IX. up to our own day. We must above all things remember what Dante wrote in his *Paradiso*. After St Thomas Aquinas has sung before the Assembly of the Saints of the poverty of St Francis, the great Franciscan doctor, St Bonaventura, praises the learning and the apostolic zeal of St Dominic. "In that region where sweet Zephyrus arises to open the new leaves, wherewith Europe is seen to reclathe herself, not very far from the beating of the waves behind which the sun for his long heat hides himself from all men, stands the fortunate Calaroga. . . . Therein was born the amorous fere of the Christian faith, the holy athlete, benign to his friends and stern to his foes; and from its creation his mind was so fulfilled of living virtue, that in his mother it made her prophetic.

After that the espousals were completed at the holy font between him and the faith, where they dowered each other with mutual salvation, the lady who gave her assent for him saw in her sleep the wonderful fruit which was to issue from him and his heirs; a spirit set forth to name him with the possessive of Him whose he was wholly. Dominic

was he called, and I speak of him as of the husbandman whom Christ chose to His garden to aid Him. Right well did he appear a messenger and a familiar of Christ, for the first desire manifest in him was toward the first counsel which Christ gave. . . . O Felix in very truth his father! O Joan in very truth his mother! if being interpreted it means as they say.¹ Not for the world, for whose sake now men weary themselves, following him of Ostia and Thadæus,² but for the love of the true manna, in a little time he became a great doctor, such that he betook himself to going round the vine which soon grows white if the vine-dresser is in fault. He did not beg from the Holy See . . . not to dispense two or three for six, not the fortune of a next vacancy, nor what belongs to the poor, but for leave to fight against the erring world for the sake of the seed whereof twenty-four plants are girding thee. Then, with doctrine and good will together, he set out with his apostolical office like a torrent which a deep vein presses out; and his attack smote upon the heretical stocks in more lively wise in those places where the resistance was most stout. From him were made thereafter divers streams whence the Catholic garden is watered so that its bushes stand alive.”³

After signing the Bull of Canonisation Gregory IX. declared that he no more doubted the saintliness of

¹ Felix in Latin signifies happy, Joan in Hebrew means favoured by grace.

² The Cardinal of Ostia is a celebrated commentator on the Decretals; Thadæus a well-known Florentine doctor.

³ Dante, *The Divine Comedy, Paradise*, Canto xii. about 52-105, translated by Artaud de Montor.

St Dominic than that of the apostles Peter and Paul, and many generations of Christians have agreed with him. It is indeed impossible to imagine greater self-abnegation, or a life more entirely devoted to God's service. From the day when, as a young student at Palencia, he sold his books to help the needy, till the day when, as he lay dying, he addressed his last exhortations to his religious, St Dominic had but one object—God's glory—and it is this which gives his life its wonderful unity. In this he resembles many other saints, but his character grows clearer and more individual when one considers the methods he employed. There are, amongst the elect, those who devote themselves to the contemplation of divine things, who, the better to practise asceticism, plunge into solitude or shut themselves up in cloisters lest any noise from without should disturb their ecstasy. Others fling themselves into action; it may be to work miracles of charity, or to spread further the reign of the Gospel. Some arrive at saintship by means repugnant to delicacy of feeling and astonishing to intelligent minds. Those are rare who harmoniously unite mysticism and action, pushing both to the verge of the sublime.

St Dominic was of these. If one considers the austerity of his life, and remembers the hair cloth worn next his skin, the bloody disciplines, the iron chain about his loins, the abstinence he all his life practised, the whole nights passed in prayer; if one calls to mind the Order of cloistered nuns founded by him, who behind their grating were vowed to penance and contemplation, he appears as a mystic

fit to figure on the altar beside St Bruno, St Teresa, and St Paul of the Cross. But it was this same saint who wandered afoot through western Europe preaching the Word, whose voice was heard in thousands of towns and hamlets, who founded an Order where everything tends to apostolic action, who himself organised most of his convents and directed the deliberations of the friars in Chapter. Wise in heavenly things, but with a wonderful comprehension of earthly affairs, he excelled in conducting a negotiation or a controversy, in looking after material concerns, in buying, exchanging and attending to agricultural returns to provide for the existence of his beloved daughters of Prouille. The friend of Simon de Montfort, the adviser of the Popes, he took part in the most important political questions of his time; he judged the heretics; crucifix in hand he appeared on the battle-field; and at scarcely fifty-one years of age he died, worn out by his ceaseless activity as much as by his asceticism.

It is all this that has made his influence so deep and so lasting. This it is that enables us to discover in his life teachings that have a wonderful application to the necessities of the present day. No longer in Languedoc or in Lombardy only is the Church discredited, and society agitated by disastrous doctrines. No longer in isolated places only do governments uphold erroneous teachers, and hinder the apostles of the truth. The great methods employed by St Dominic with so much success are still needed. Preachers are more than ever wanted, scientific training is more than ever required in the

Church, and its defenders, while stimulating the divine life in their souls by prayer and spiritual aid, must draw from the university and the study a knowledge of things human and divine. The life of St Dominic is still a school of patience and courage. After ten years of preaching in Languedoc he had only fifteen companions, and the heretics seemed to be triumphing. But his faith remained unshaken, and five years later more than a thousand friars were disseminated over the whole Christian world, testifying by their zeal how fruitful had become the work which had at one time seemed destined to failure. His trust in God was not the result of success: as a labourer in the Lord's Vineyard he from the first tasted the assurance that the Heavenly Father would make his work fruitful.

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